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Youngest Son to the Georgian King re-
turning from Poland, where he had
commanded his Father's Troops, most
of which were with him, or were
about to be sent under his
Command. Prince standing by the
River, in order to send the
King's Son to the Georgian King re-



ASCANIUS:

OR, THE

Young ADVENTURER;

A TRUE HISTORY.

*Translated from a Manuscript privately
banded about at the Court of Versailles.*

CONTAINING,

A particular Account of all that happen'd to a certain Person during his Wanderings in the *North*, from his first Arrival there, in *August 1745*, to his final Escape *September 19*, in the following Year.

The whole introduced with a more critical and candid History of the Rise, Progress, and Extinction of the late REBELLION, than any yet publish'd; and interspersed with Remarks on the Characters of the principal Persons who appear'd in the Interest of *Ascanius*; particularly the celebrated Miss *Cameron*, Miss *Mac Donald*, the Duke of *Perth*, the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, Messieurs *Sheridan* and *Sullivan*, &c. &c.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. Johnson, in Salisbury-Court, Fleet-
Street. 1746.

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CONTAINING

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T H E

Translator's Introduction.

DI V I D E and DESTROY
has, for these several hundred Years past, been the first Principle or Maxim of the Kings of France, with regard to their Conduct towards and Intercourse with most other European States and Powers. And the End they propose by thus dividing and destroying is obvious enough; viz. To increase their own Dominions; which cannot so easily be done while the neighbouring Nations are not weakened by intestine Divisions, nor divided each against itself by Party Dissentions. For under these salutary Circumstances they will be able to stop the Progress, and turn aside the gigantick Strides of the Gallic or any other Monarch, towards the universal

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Em-

Empire of Europe, and consequently of half the Globe besides.

Among the several European Nations, who from time to time have put a Check to the Gallic Incroachments, none have more gloriously distinguish'd themselves than the generous Britons; and therefore none more obnoxious to France, or more the Object of her Jealousy; and consequently none whom she more desires to ruin by all the Force and all the Artifices in her Power.

In vain hath France brought forth her Armies against us, in vain are all her Efforts by open Force: Nothing but Artifice and Corruption can avail the Enemies of Britain. Oft have we turned aside and repulsed their Arms, but, alas! as oft have we suffer'd by her wily Arts, her deep Dissimulation, her fraudulent Practices.*

Surely no sensible Englishman, no impartial Briton, can imagine that the House of Bourbon hath any further Affection or Regard to that of Stuart, than so far as the latter may serve and advance the selfish

* See the ingenious Mr. Granville's Synopsis of England, lately published.

Views of the other? The exploded Rights of the exiled Stuarts have more than once furnish'd France with Opportunities of exciting the deluded Britons to turn their Swords, each Man against his Neighbour and his Brother, as the readiest and most effectual Way to weaken us 'till rendered unable to defend ourselves against a foreign Enemy, and then inevitably to fall an easy Prey to that Power, and into that slavish Dependance, from which a P—— of the House of Stuart would be the last Person in the World to attempt our Deliverance.

In 1743, France, meditating on and concerting that hostile Declaration against us, which appeared in the following Year, but at the same time dreading the British Arms in the open Field, resolved to try the old Method for turning the Points of our Swords against our own Breasts. To facilitate this Scheme, the unhappy House of Stuart (unhappy only by its own Misconduct) lay ready. The young Ascanius being sent for from Italy, was given to understand that if he would renew his Family Pretensions to, and venture his Life for, the British Crown, he should not want Assistance. The destitute P—— neither inclined nor dared

dared to refuse the Offer, his chief Dependence being on the French Court.

Accordingly a Correspondence was settled with such Persons of Consequence in Britain as still thought themselves obliged to follow the Fortune of the House of Stuart; and with all British Exiles who were become such by their inviolable Attachment to that Family.

Mean time, while the Seeds of this Project were sowing, France declared War against Britain, and for about a Year maintained it fairly in the Field, 'till all was ready for striking a darker and less generous Blow; for stabbing the unsuspecting Britannia to the Heart with her own Sword, even while she held it in her own Hand.

The Scheme being ripened to Perfection, Ascanius embarks for the Northern Part of the British Isle, in order to excite the People to take Arms against the Prince then sitting on the Throne of the united Kingdoms, that while his Troops were employed in defending him at Home, his Dominions abroad, and those of his Allies, might fall an easy Prey to the most rapacious,

clous, the most Christian King; who for want of such a Diversion in his Favour, might have been reduced to the hard Necessity of agreeing to a just and reasonable Peace.

This Attempt of Ascanius was doubtless extremely bold. Himself an unexperienced Youth, and little acquainted with the World, undertakes to raise a Rebellion among a People to whom he was entirely a Stranger, and in a Country wherein even his Family was unknown, except in former Generations. But Ascanius had an Interest among the Britons, independent on personal Acquaintance, or even on personal Accomplishments; which neither Merits nor Demerits could advance or diminish: This was the Doctrine of an Indefeasible Right of Succession, or, as Mr. Pope happily expresses it,

The right divine of Kings to govern
wrong!

This Doctrine paved our Adventurer a Way into these Kingdoms, and many scrupled not to forfeit for him their Allegiance to a King, known, tried and approved by all Men, except those whose Understand-
ings

ings were subverted by unintelligible Notions of a natural Right, which never existed in Nature. Notions which in our present Circumstances tend only to involve us in the most inextricable Difficulties, in the most deplorable Misfortunes. To attempt the Subversion of the present Government, which hath been taking Root among us for so many Years, and which is so strongly fortified even by the very Doctrine I have mentioned, (by a direct lineal Succession) to attempt this, I say, was surely little less than Madness; especially as the British Nation hath no material Objection to her present King, nor the least Prospect of any to his Heirs.



ASCANIUS:

OR, THE

Young ADVENTURER.

BOOK I.

Containing a Succinct and Impartial Account of the late Rebellion in SCOTLAND.

JULY 14th 1745, *Ascanius*, after having for some Time reposed himself at the House of the Duke *de Fitz-James*, at *Port Lazere* in *Britany*, embark'd at that Place for *Scotland*. The Vessel appointed by the *French King* to carry the P——, was a Frigate of eighteen Guns; which sailing first to *Belleisle*, was join'd by the *Elizabeth*, formerly an *English* Man of War, but taken by the *French* in *Queen Ann's* Time. She had above sixty Guns mounted, and was very well

well mann'd for this Occasion. In their Passage they met with the *Lion*, Capt. *Brett*, and two other *English* Men of War, with a Fleet of Merchantmen under Convoy. The Frigate immediately bore away, but the *Lion* and the *Elizabeth* maintain'd a desperate Fight, 'till the Night came, and saved the latter, who run off, and got into *Brest*, in a most terrible Condition. Her Captain and about seventy Men were killed, and double the Number wounded. She had on board a large Sum of Money, and Arms for several thousand Men, all design'd for the Service of *Ascanius* in *Scotland*.

Mean Time the Frigate continuing her Voyage, arrived among the *Scotch* Isles, and after hovering about for several Days, at last put into the Country of *Lochabar*, and there *Ascanius*, with only seven Attendants landed, and went directly to the House of Mr. *McDonald* of *Kintoch-Moidart*, who, with many others, had been gain'd beforehand. Here he remained in private several Weeks, while some of the Highland Chiefs were getting the Clans together, in order to declare openly for him, and to endeavour in the first Place to reduce the Kingdom of *Scotland*. By the Middle of *August* they had assembled
about

about 1800 Men, consisting of the *Stuarts* of *Appin*, the *McDonalds* of *Glengary*, the *Garrons* of *Lockhart*, and some others. *Ascanius* set up his Standard, on which was this Motto, *Tandem triumphans*†. He also published two Manifestos in his Father's Name; one of which was printed and dated in the Year 1743. The third he published in his own Name, which he promised many Things agreeable to the *Scots*, and among others the Dissolution of the Union with *England*.

By this Time the Government was informed of his being in the Highlands; and though at first his Undertaking was ridiculed, it was soon after thought proper to send strict Orders to Sir *John Cope*, Generalissimo of the King's Forces in *Scotland*, to take all possible Care to prevent the young Adventurer from making his Party formidable; and if possible to take him alive or dead: And as an extraordinary Inducement to this, a Reward of 30,000 *l.* was, by the Lords of the Regency (the King being then in *Germany*) set on the Head of *Ascanius*.

Before the End of *August*, two Companies of General *Sinclair's* Regiment being sent to reconnoitre the Highlanders, were

† That is, *At length triumphans*.
most

most of them made Prisoners, as was soon after a Captain of *Gaife's* Foot. This Gentleman being released on his Parole, gave the Government the first circumstantial Account of the Number and Condition of the Highland Forces.

And now *Ascanius* prepared to march southward, with a View of taking the City of *Edinburgh*, the Capital of the Kingdom. Mean Time *Cope* having collected together all the King's Forces in *Scotland*, and arm'd the Militia, was marching for the Highlands in quest of *Ascanius*; who not chusing to risk a Battle in the Infant State of his Affairs, gave the old General the Slip. The Mountains, and the fourth of September he enter'd *Perth* without Resistance. The News of this being carried to *Cope*, who was got as far as *Inverness*, after a very fatiguing March, he saw no other Remedy than to march back again, though not the same Way that he came. Accordingly he order'd Transport Ships to meet him at *Aberdeen*, to carry his Forces from thence to *Leith*. Mean Time *Ascanius* proclaim'd his Father at *Perth*, where he was joined by several Persons of Distinction, who brought with them considerable Supplies of Men and Arms. From hence *Ascanius* march'd his Troops (which

(which by this Time he had, with the Assistance of Mr. *Sullivan* and the *French* Officers, pretty well disciplined) towards the River *Forth*, which they forded on the thirteenth, *Ascanius* first plunging in at the Head of the Infantry. Directing now his March towards *Glasgow*, (one of the finest Cities in *Scotland*, and noted for its University) he summon'd it, but receiving no Answer, he alter'd his Rout, and march'd directly for *Edinburgh*, which he doubted not to reach before *Cope* could be back from *Aberdeen*; and so it happen'd.

While both Parties were thus advancing towards the Metropolis, the Inhabitants were making great Preparations for a vigorous Resistance, in case *Ascanius* should first appear before the Walls. But the P—— having many Friends in the City, no sooner came nigh it, which he did on the sixteenth, than a Treaty of Surrender was enter'd upon, and the next Morning the Provost, who is the first Civil Magistrate there, admitted him into the Place. However, the brave, though very old General *Guest*, retired with a few Regulars into the Castle, which he so obstinately held for the King, that *Ascanius* could never make himself Master of it.

While

While the P— was entering the City, Cope was debarking his Troops at Dunbar, within two Days March of Edinburgh, and being there joined by Brigadier Fowke, with Hamilton's and Gardner's Dragoons, he march'd on the Nineteenth, and encamped that Night near Haddington. Early next Morning continuing their March, they arrived at Preston-pans in the Evening, where they perceived the Troops of As— on the Hills towards Edinburgh, at which Place only a small Body of Highlanders were left to secure a Retreat thither, in case of Necessity. That Night both Parties lay under Arms, and some firing frequently pass'd between them. The next Morning *i. e.* on the Twenty-first, about three o'Clock, the King's Troops were briskly attack'd. The Dragoons ran on the first Fire, and left the Infantry exposed to the broad Swords of the Highlanders, with whose Weapons and Manner of fighting they were quite unacquainted; and not having Time to recover the Disorder they were thrown into by the first Attack, they were finally routed in a few Minutes. About three hundred were cut to Pieces on the Spot, and most of the rest made Prisoners. Among the Slain was the brave Colonel

Gardner

Gardner, who scorned to fly with his Regiment, and fighting gallantly to the last, perished with some other Officers of Note. Many other principal Officers were desperately wounded, as were a considerable Number of the common Prisoners. All the Cannon, Tents, and every Thing the vanquished had to lose was taken. As for the General, he had the good Fortune to escape to *Berwick*, as did the Earls of *Loudon* and *Hume*; and Brig. *Fowke*, and Col. *Lascelles* got safe to *Dunbar*. * This Action was called the Battle of *Preston-Pans*, or by some the Battle of *Seaton*, from two little Towns near which it was fought; but it is more properly called the Battle of *Gladsmoor*, which was the Field of Action, being a wide barren Heath, about seven Miles East from *Edinburgh*: We have no certain Accounts of the Number of *Cope's* Army. The Regiments he had were those of *Gardner*, *Hamilton*, *Lee*, *Guise*, *Murray*, *Lascelles*, and *Loudon*; but of these almost every one wanted near a third of their compliment of Men, and in all they are supposed not to have exceeded

* In the Year following *Cope*, *Lascelles*, and *Fowke* were called to Account before a Court Martial, for their Behaviour in this Action, but were honourably acquitted.

4000, Sutlers, &c. &c. included. The Victors did not exceed 3400; and of these above two Fifths had no occasion to strike nor did strike a Stroke.

The Defeat of these regular Troops gained *Ascanius* and his new raised Men great Reputation, and induced many to join them, who 'till now had sat still thro' Fear of the King's Party. The P— did not return to *Edinburgh* 'till the 24th, quartering his Men in the mean time at *Duddingstone* and *Musselburgh*. On the 28th and the Day following, he sent away his Prisoners to *Perth*, and prepared to besiege the Castle of *Edinburgh* in Form.

On the first of *October* the Trenches were opened on the Castle Hill, and thereupon the Garrison began to fire upon the Highlanders, of whom they killed three Men, and wounded Col. *Macdonald*, one of their principal Officers, who had been in the Service of the King of *Spain*, and whose Experience in the military Art made his Life of great Importance to *Ascanius*. However the utmost Efforts of the Garrison, and the most obstinate Defence they could have made, had been insufficient to induce the Besiegers to abandon their Works; but the Want of heavy Cannon, and most other Requisites

Requisites for such a Siege, were the Cause of the laying aside this Design; which it must be confessed was rashly begun, through the Ignorance of some of the Highland Chiefs, whose Impetuosity *Ascanius* thought himself obliged in Prudence to humour, 'till Experience should teach them what sound Reasoning had been unable to do.

And now *Glasgow* was again summoned to surrender; and 15000 l. Contribution-Money was demanded; however 5000 Guineas being immediately paid, *Ascanius*, whose Moderation was equal to his Generosity, abated them the rest. Mean time Hostilities betwixt the P—'s Troops and the Garrison, continued 'till the fifth, when the former having lost twenty Men in an Attempt to dislodge a Party of the latter from a Post on the Castle Hill, and upon finding the Houses in the City begin to be beaten about their Ears by the Castle Guns, an Armistice was agreed on, and the Communication betwixt the City and Castle restored.

About this Time *Ascanius* received a considerable Addition to his Forces, both by Supplies of Artillery, Arms, Ammunition, &c. from *France*, and by the Junction of several Persons of Distinction,

all *Scots*; however he had the Misfortune to lose a large *Spanish* Ship, laden with Stores and Money for his Service, which was taken by the *Try-all* Privateer of *Bristol*. At the End of this Month *Ascanius* detach'd Part of his Army to *Dalkeith*, where they encamped. Two hundred Carts were employed in bringing hither the Supplies lately arrived, and which were removed from *Montrorse* and *Stonehive* without any Loss: This was chiefly owing to the Battery erected at *Alloway*, and other Precautions taken by *Ascanius* to secure the Passage of the *Firth*.

And now the P—, and his Followers prepar'd for a March into *England*, hoping by so bold and unexpected a Step, to strike Terror into the *Georgians*, † and to get Possession of some Fastnesses in that Kingdom, if not the Capital itself, before they could recover themselves.

Mean time the Government, apprehensive of the P—'s forming such a Design, was taking all possible Measures to ruin it. An Army of 14000 Men was

† Here the Reader may take Notice, that (for the Sake of Brevity, or for any other Reason which any one is at Liberty to assign) I shall henceforth distinguish the contending Parties by the Appellations of *Georgians* and *Adventurers*.

assembled

assembled on the northern Frontier, under Field Marshall *Wade*, an old General of much Experience and Precaution. The Militia of the Northern Counties were also raised, and a considerable Number of them, besides other Troops, appointed to garrison the City of *Carlisle*, the Capital of *Cumberland*, the nearest County to *Scotland* on the North-West, and by which *Ascanius* must march, or by *Newcastle upon Tyne*, where *Wade* lay. The most zealous of the *Georgians* also distinguished themselves by Associations and voluntary Contributions for the Defence of their Government. In short, the whole *Georgian* Party throughout the Kingdom appeared as it were in Arms: So great was their Dread of our young Adventurer, and so terrible their Apprehensions of the Strength of his Party in both Kingdoms.—But, beyond all others, the Zeal of the Archbishop of *York* was remarkably Fruitful. And his Activity being seconded by the *Yorkshire* Nobility and Gentry, four new Regiments were raised and maintained at the Expence of that County; besides a Body of Gentlemen who served on Horseback at their own Expence, stiling themselves the *Royal Hunters*; and of these General *Oglethorpe* had the Command.—At

At the same Time *Duncan Forbes, Esq;* Lord President of the Court of Session in *Scotland*, extremely distinguish'd himself there, by his Zeal for the *Georgian* Interest, of which he was undoubtedly the chief Support in the North of that Kingdom; and it was principally by his Means that a considerable Body of *Georgian* *Higblanders* and other *Scots*, were raised, under the Command of the Earl of *Loudon*, for the Security of the Forts of *Inverness*, *Augustus*, and *William*, which are a Chain of fortified Places commanding the North of *Scotland*.

But notwithstanding all these vigorous Preparations to frustrate and ruin his Designs, the intrepid *Ascanius* resolved to pursue them thro' all Obstacles, all possible Dangers. Nov. 1st. he went from *Edinburgh* to the Camp at *Dalkeith*, from whence he daily dispatch'd his Agents into *England*, and from time to time he received Intelligence of what was doing there, both by his Friends for him, and by his Enemies against him. And tho' he had the Mortification to find that, contrary to the Assurances he had received, the former were but few, that is such as were hearty in the Cause, and determined to run all Risks to serve it, yet he still inflexibly

re-

resolved to push the desperate Attempt, having only, as he had publickly signified, a *Crown* or a *Coffin* in view. He hoped that by his Presence in *England*, the Reputation he had already acquired by the extraordinary Progress of his Arms, and the bold Pushes he was yet determined to make; he should be able to put new Life into his *English* Friends, to reclaim the Apostate, to fix the Wavering, to animate the Fearful, and to inspire the Zealous with that Activity, Courage, and Contempt of Danger, of which himself would give an immediate Example.

With these Views, and in this resolute Disposition, *Ascanius* begun his March for *Carlisle*. His Army did not at this Time exceed 6700 effective Men, a small Number for such an Expedition; but he relied much on *English* Reinforcements, and more on a timely Descent by the *French* in the South. For in case of such a Diversion, nothing could have effectually obstructed his March to *London*. The principal Persons in his Army, were the Duke of *Perth*, the *P*——'s General; Lord *George Murray*, Lieutenant General; Lord *Elcho*, Son to the Earl of *Wemyss*, and Colonel of the Lifeguards; the Earl

of *Kilmarnock*, Colonel of a Regiment mounted and accoutred as *Hussars*; Lord *Pittligo*, General of the Horse; the Lords *Nairn*, *Ogilvie*, *Dundee*, and *Balmerino*; Mess. *Sheridan* and *Sullivan*, *Irish* Gentlemen; General *M'Donald*, Aid de Camp to *Ascanius*, *John Murray* of *Broughton*, Esq; his Secretary, and many others.

On the sixth the Army pass'd the *Tweed*, and entered *England*. Marshal *Wade* was at this Time, as hath been observ'd, at *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*; and might have intercepted *Ascanius* on the Borders, but being ignorant of the Rout the *Adventurers* intended to take, whether by *Carlisle*, or by *Newcastle*, the cautious old General determined to wait their Motions, and by them regulate his own: But this Conduct rendered both him and his Army, of little or no use to the Government in this critical and dangerous Juncture; for *Ascanius* taking the *Carlisle* Road, he arrived at that City, (which is almost Parallel to the *Scotch* Coast with *Newcastle*, from whence it is but three Winter-Day's March) and took it before *Wade* could arrive to prevent him. After proclaiming his Father here, *Ascanius* proceeded Southward, leaving a Garrison of
Highb-

Highlanders in the Place. Mean Time *Wade* was in full March for *Carlisle*, and was got about half Way, when he heard of the Place being taken. As the Weather and Roads were so extremely bad, as almost to have ruined the Army, and as, consequently, they were not in a Condition to Attempt the retaking the City, it was thought proper to return to *Newcastle*, leaving the *Adventurers* to get so far to the Southward, that it would have been absurd for *Wade's* People to attempt the overtaking them: Therefore the General remained in the North, in order to guard those Parts, and prevent the P— from receiving Supplies, or Reinforcements from thence, or out of *Scotland*.

And now the Progress of *Ascanius* had thrown all *England* into Confusion, and the *Georgians* began in good earnest to dread his Arrival at *London*, before another Army could be formed in the Southern and Midland Parts to impede his March: Which was amazingly swift, all the Country flying before him, none daring or caring to resist, nor a single Town offering to dispute his Entrance into, or Passage through it. However the Duke of *Cumberland*, youngest

youngest Son to the *Georgian* King returning from *Flanders*, where he had commanded his Father's Troops, most of which returned with him, or were before arrived, and put under *Wade's* Command; this Prince returning I say from abroad, in order to lead the *Georgian* Troops against *Ascanius*, his now successful Rival in more Respects than one, an Army was formed with all the Expedition requisite in so urgent a Crisis, and the Duke put himself at the Head thereof, with a Resolution to wait the coming of *Ascanius*, and by one decisive Stroke determine the Fate of the *British* Crown.

Mean Time the daring young Adventurer, with equal Resolution, advanced with prodigious Celerity, while the Attention of both Kingdoms was intensely fixed on the expected approaching Action. It was on the 20th that our *Adventurer* left *Carlisle*, from whence thro' *Penrith* and *Kendal* he proceeded to *Lancaster*, where he arrived on the 24th. The 27th saw him at *Preston*, the 29th at *Manchester*. 'Till now the P—, had been joined by few of the *English*, and on this Account the Spirits of his faithful Followers began to droop. “ The *English* are degenerate,
“ said

“ said they, and lost to all Sense of Justice
 “ or Gratitude. They are stupidly in
 “ Love with their present Govern-
 “ ment, bigotted to their new fangled
 “ Notions, and Strangers to those noble
 “ Sentiments of Loyalty which glowed
 “ in the Breast of their Ancestors. In
 “ vain have we made this long fatiguing
 “ March, in vain doth the generous *As-*
 “ *canius* invite the infatuated *English* to
 “ shake off the Yoke of *Whigism*, to
 “ do Justice to his Catholic Family,
 “ to themselves and to their Posterity,
 “ in vain this glorious Opportunity, if
 “ they refuse the proffered Blessing, and
 “ chuse to live in Ease and Indolence.

In these Terms were the general Com-
 plaints of the Army couch'd. And *As-*
canius himself now began to see his Error
 in trusting to the Accounts sent him while
 in *Scotland*, of the Number and Disposi-
 tion of his Partizans in the South. Ne-
 vertheless he prudently tried to disguise
 his Sentiments, and to keep up the Spirits
 of his People. *Who knows*, said, he at a
 general Council of War held at *Man-*
chester, but that all will yet happen for
 the best, and my greater Glory. I grant
 we have run ourselves into imminent Dan-
 ger; or rather, perhaps. Providence hath
 brought us hither to shew what great Things
 may be done for us. Victory does not al-

C ways

ways declare for Numbers. Few, though we are, we have Arms in our Hands, and I hope every Man here is well satisfied of the Goodness of his Cause. We found the English less than Men at Gladsmuir, and surely we shall not find them to be more than Men on any Field in England. Our Friends, for aught we know, are at this Instant striking a more effectual Blow for us than if they joyn'd us in Person. Let us suspend our Fears, and our Judgment as to our Situation, 'till I have received fresh Advice from London, for there I hope Fortune is yet working for us.

Thus cheer'd, the Adventurers still proceeded Southward 'till they came within the Borders of Staffordshire, where the Duke lay with his Army to intercept them. Wade also was now marching after them through Yorkshire, with Intent to put them betwixt two Fires. Thus was this little Army encircled by the English in the Midst of their Country, and unable to go forwards or backwards, or to proceed any Way in which they would not meet with an Army treble the Number of their own; for even yet they did not amount to more than 7400 Men, having been join'd by not more than 500 * since their entering England.

* These Recruits were chiefly raised in Lancashire, particularly in Manchester. They were form'd

I must not forget to mention that in every City, or Market-Town through which *Ascanius* passed, he did not omit to take Possession of it for his Father, by proclaiming him in every Place: For Instance, in *Carlisle, Penrith Kendal, Lancaster, Preston, Wigan, Burton, Manchester, Stockport, Macclesfield, Congleton*; the two last in *Cheeshire*. At *Congleton* it was, that finding his March Southward absolutely stopp'd by the Duke, part of whose Army lay at *Newcastle-under-Line*, within ten Miles of *Congleton*; here it was, I say, that *Ascanius* resolved to turn off Eastward to *Leek* in *Staffordshire*, and so through the *Moorlands* into *Derbyshire*, marching East and by South, 'till he got to *Derby Town*, where he would be nearer to *London* than the *English*. This Resolution was the most prudent he could have taken in the Circumstances he was in; for it would have been Madness to engage the *English*, who had not only so much the Advantage of Numbers, but their Troops were in excellent Condition, abounding in all Conveniencies, nor had they been harass'd to the utmost Extremity by forced Marches, as those of *Ascanius* were, many of the Men being scarce able to support it;

C 2

and

form'd into a Regiment called the *Manchester Regiment*, *Francis Townley, Esq;* Colonel.

and some even dying through excessive Fatigue and Want of the necessary Refreshments. On the other Hand, had they so soon gone back the Way they came, that would have been at once to forfeit every possible Opportunity which Fortune might yet have in store for putting them in Possession of the Capital. Had they turned Westward, in order to take Refuge in *Wales*, they would still have been never the nearer towards making the Conquest of *England*, and absolutely out of the Way of seconding a *French* Invasion, or a general Rising of their Friends in *London*. Besides, had *Ascanius* attempted to pass into *Wales*, he might have been greatly obstructed in his March thro' *Cheeshire*, particularly by the Garrison of *Chester* City, where, besides the County Militia, some of the new Regiments raised by the Nobility * in the *English* Interest were quarter'd.

December 3d *Ascanius* was at *Leek* in the Moorlands of *Staffordshire*, the next Day at *Ashburn* in the Peak of *Derby-*

These new Regiments were as follows, viz. three of Horse raised by the Dukes of *Kingston*, *Bolton* and *Montague*; six of Foot by the Duke of *Archefer*, the Earls of *Chelmsdeley*, *Berkely*, *Hallifax*, *Gower*, and the Lord *Herbert* of *Shropshire*.

shire;

shire; and on the 4th at *Derby Town*. Mean Time the Duke, finding the dextrous *Adventurers* had given him the slip, began to march across the Country, in Expectation of intercepting them in *Leicestershire* or *Northamptonshire*. And this he had infallibly done, had not *Ascanius* now at length opened his Eyes, and saw that to go still forward would be to oblige himself to risk a Battle under all the Disadvantages above mention'd, or to surrender at Discretion. He now saw that the *English* were not to be depended on; that they either were intimidated by Fear, or were only lukewarm in the Cause, not caring to declare themselves 'till they should see how he would extricate himself out of his present Difficulties, and whether or not the *French* would land. Here it was that *Ascanius* received Advice from *London*, " that his Friends there had not
 " the Power to rise in his Favour; with-
 " out desperately hazarding both his
 " own Ruin, and that of all the Party
 " in the Kingdom; that there was no
 " Likelihood of a Descent from *France*,
 " all the Southern Coasts being well
 " guarded, as were the circumjacent
 " Seas by the *English* Fleet; for Fear of
 " whom the *French* durst not stir out of
 " Port.

Hereupon a Council of War was call'd, at which the Chiefs spake very freely, and strenuously insisted on the Army's returning for *Scotland* by the Way they came; urging that they might be gone back as far as through the two Counties of *Derby* and *Stafford*, before the Duke on the South Side of them could know that they had begun to return; and that, on the other hand, as *Wade* lay directly North from them, and they were to march by the North-West, they doubted not of again giving him the slip, and reaching *Carlisle* before he could in the least obstruct their Flight. — To this Advice *Astianus*, perceiving now no other visible Resource for their Preservation, consented; still comforting himself with Hopes that Providence intended to work for him by other Means than those he had yet thought of.

However the common Soldiers among the *Adventurers*, who had flatter'd themselves with the taking of *London*, were greatly chagrin'd at their Disappointment, and would have severely reveng'd themselves on the People of *Derby*, and of the other Towns through which they had pass'd, and were to repass; but *Astianus* and his Officers us'd their

their utmost Endeavours to appease their Followers, and convince them of the Necessity both for their returning, and for not injuring the Persons and Properties of the *English* as little as possible, in their necessitous Circumstances. Nevertheless, discovering that a Subscription had been here set on Foot by the *English* Party, and was already pretty full, the *Adventurers* procured a Copy of the Subscription-List, and made the Town pay all the Money to them. They also obliged the People of *Derby* to furnish them with many Necessaries at an easy Price; but the disadvantageous Idea they gave of themselves by this Proceeding, (which *Aseanius* could not easily prevent) was, perhaps, the principal Reason of their being joined by only four or five Persons in this County; of whom the unhappy Counsellor *Morgan** was one.

As a Delay of one or two Days must have render'd the Retreat of *Aseanius* and his Troops impracticable, they staid at *Derby* but two Nights; for, on the 6th of *December* we find them again at

* Who with Col. *Townley* and seven others, was executed on *Kennington Common*, near *London*, July 30th, 1746.

Ashbourn

Ashbourn in the *Peak*. Mean Time, while *Ascanius* is making as masterly a Retreat as ever was perform'd, with one Body of *English* Foot hotly pursuing at his Heels, and *Oglethorpe*, with a Body of Horse, on his right Hand, flying to intercept him, but in vain, though the General made a very swift March across the Country from *Yorkshire* into *Lancashire*. While, I say, *Ascanius* is thus giving the World as extraordinary a Proof of his Skill and Dexterity in a Retreat, as he had before of his Courage and Conduct in a Battle, let us leave him on his March, and take a View of what, in the mean Time, his Friends in *Scotland* were doing for him there.

Lord *Lewis Gordon*, Brother to the Duke of *Gordon*, remaining in *Scotland* to take Care of the Interest of *Ascanius* in that Kingdom, while himself was in *England*, was extremely active in raising both Men * and Money in the Northern Parts, and may justly be consider'd as a Counterpoise to the Lord President *Forbes*, whose Zeal for his Majesty's Interest

The Clans out of which he raised most Men were, the *McKensies*, the *Mackintoshes*, the *Fergusons*, and the *Fraziers*.

have

have already mention'd. Lord Lewis's Endeavours were greatly supported by the Arrival from *France* of the Duke de *Fix* James's Regiment of Horse, of which most of the Men were *Irish* and *Scotch*, or descended from Parents born in those Kingdoms. These were commanded by the Lord *John Drummond*, Brother to the Duke of *Perth*; who joining Lord *Lewis Gordon*, their Forces together made up a Corps of near 3000 Men. With these Troops the two Lords quarter'd themselves in and about *Perth*, at the same Time that *Ascanius* set out on his Return from *Derby*.

On the other hand, the Earl of *London* was equally active in spiriting up the Clans in the *English* Interest; and raised considerable Supplies among the *Macleods*, the *Grants*, the *Monroes*, the *Sutherlands*, and the *Guns*; and at last he had a Body of above 2300 effective Men, and with these he forced the Son of Lord *Lovat* to retire from before *Fort Augustus*, which he had besieged with a considerable Body of *Frazers*, a Clan of which his Father was the Chief. The City of *Edinburgh*, now again in the Hand of the *English*, likewise exerted itself in raising Men; as also did the City of *Glasgow*, and betwixt them two
numerous

numerous Regiments, and several independent Companies were raised. Thus, whether in *England* or *Scotland*, *Ascanius* was like to have Enemies enough to deal with, and Opportunities enough for exerting his Abilities.

Let us now return into *England*, and follow *Ascanius* in his Flight from *Derby*. December 7th he arrived at *Leek* in *Staffordshire*; and on the 9th at *Manchester*. Mean Time the Duke of *Cumberland* having Intelligence that his Enemies had begun to retreat northward, immediately prepared to follow them with all possible Expedition. Flying with a Body of Horse through the Counties of *Warwick* and *Stafford*, on the 10th he arrived at *Macclesfield* in *Cheshire*, a Body of a thousand Foot following him as fast as they could, and at no great Distance; for the Duke's Scheme was to come up with the *Adventurers* with his Horse, and retard their March till his Infantry came up, and then to endeavour to bring *Ascanius* to a general Engagement. This, however, was what the latter very prudently avoided, well knowing the great Difference betwixt the Spirit of Troops pursued by an Enemy, in that Enemy's Country, and the Spirit of the Pursuers. Besides, perceiving that

that Fortune inclined her Face with a Smile towards *Cumberland*, the Country People voluntarily supplied his Army with Horses, Carriages, Provisions, and all other Necessaries; while the *Adventurers* could get nothing but what Violence forced from the grumbling *English*, who took all Methods to distress them, and retard their March. This indeed they were in some measure obliged to do, in Compliance with the Duke's Orders, who daily sent Expresses before him to that Purpose, as he march'd from Town to Town. And in the mean Time, those who privately inclined to succour the young *Adventurer*, were deterr'd from appearing for him in any Manner, by their Apprehensions of the Duke of *Cumberland's* superior Force and good Fortune.

Macclesfield, where, as we have observed, the *English* arriv'd on the 10th, is but one Day's March from *Manchester*, from whence *Ascanius* march'd that Day, resting his Troops there only one Night. At *Manchester* the fickle Inhabitants, perceiving that Fortune seem'd to frown on the *Adventurers*, whom they had joyfully received but a few Days before, now began to shew a very different Spirit, and gave the
Troops

Troops several rude Marks of their new Disposition. This *Ascanius* so highly resented, that, before he left their Town, he made the People pay him the Sum of two thousand five hundred Pounds, to preserve themselves from being plunder'd: However, in Consideration of the many Friends he still had there, he gave them a Promise of Repayment, as soon as the Kingdom should be recover'd to his Family, of which he did not despair yet.

On the 11th the *Adventurers* march'd further northward and came to *Wigan*, from whence the next Day they push'd to *Preston*. The Duke still followed at the Distance of about a Day's March, which he yet found it impossible to gain of *Ascanius*, who, on the other hand, found it equally impracticable to out-strip his formidable Rival in youthful Vigour and Vigilance.

On the 13th in the Morning *Ascanius* quitted *Preston*, which he had no sooner done than *Oglethorpe*, with the Horse and Dragoons, from *Wade's* Army, arrived there, having in three Days march'd above one hundred Miles thro' the Ice, and over Mountains covered with Snow. And now the *Adventurers* had certainly been forced to come to an
Action,

Action, (in which nothing less than a Miracle could have given them the Advantage, in the distressed Condition they were in) had not their *English* Friends in the South luckily, at this critical Juncture, done them some Service. A Report was raised, and successfully propagated, *that the French were landed in the South*; and this was so generally believed by the *English*, that an Express was sent to inform the Duke thereof, and hereupon he halted a Day, waiting for further Notice, and also sent Orders to *Oglethorpe* to discontinue the Pursuit, and even to return towards the Duke's Army. Still more happy indeed had it been for *Ascanius* had this Report been grounded on Fact. But the Seas were so well guarded by the *English* Fleet, that though a strong Squadron of *French* Men of War had been fitted out, with a great Number of Transports, having a considerable Body of Troops on board; yet they durst never venture out of Port, the *English*, with superior Force, continually hovering about the *French* and *British* Coasts, to intercept them. However, the Report was of great Service to the *Adventurer*; for had not the Duke and *Oglethorpe* been thus retarded, the latter would doubtless have forced *Ascanius* to
halt;

halt; and though the General's Troops were as much fatigued and disorder'd by their forced March as *Ascanius's* were, yet they would at least have been able to have obstructed his Retreat 'till the Duke came up, and then the Action must have been decisive. I say, decisive; for the harraisd *Adventurers* could have little Hopes of Victory over an Army so much superior in all Respects, and a Defeat must have ruin'd them entirely; whereas, had the *English* been worsted on one Day, they would have been reinforced the next, and able to have continued the Dispute for a Week together, even though they lost a thousand Men every Day.

However, on the 14th, upon better Information, the Duke order'd *Oglethorpe* to continue the Pursuit, whilst himself follow'd as fast as possible. On the 15th *Ascanius* arrived at *Kendal* in *Westmoreland*, whence he marched the next Day for *Penrith* in *Cumberland*. Mean Time the *English* follow'd with prodigious Celerity, and on the 18th the Duke, with the King's Regiment of Dragoons and the Duke of *Kingston's* new-raised light Horse, came up with the Rear of the *Adventurers*, after a fatiguing Ten Hours March. At this
Time

Time *Ascanius* was, with the main Body at *Penrith*, and knew not that his Rear was in so much Danger, till the Danger was over; for on Sight of the *English*, Lord *George Murray*, who commanded the Rear (in Conjunction with Lord *Elcho*) order'd his People to halt in a Village called *Clifton*, and there receive their Attack. Mean time the eager young Duke of *Cumberland*, whose Capacity as a Soldier all impartial Persons must acknowledge to be consummate, made every necessary Disposition for driving the *Adventurers* from their Post, in which indeed they had great Advantages over the *English*. The Attack was resolutely made, and as resolutely opposed. The *Highlanders* being much shelter'd, by the Walls and Hedges, from behind which they fired with great Security, lost very few Men; nor had the Assailants Time to receive any great Loss, the Night being so very far advanced even before the Action was well begun, that it was soon put an end to, it being difficult to distinguish Friends from Foes. The *Adventurers* (who must have been at length overpower'd by Numbers had the Action happen'd in the Day) took Advantage of the Night, and abandon'd the Village to the *English*,
continuing

continuing their Retreat to *Penrith*, where they joined *Ascanius* before Midnight. The Darkness of the Night, added to the Closeness of the Country, which was extremely rough, and cover'd with Wood-Lands, obliged the *English* to discontinue the Pursuit till Morning. Their Loss in the Action was about twenty Men and Officers kill'd, and thirty wounded. The Troops of *Ascanius* suffer'd less; which, as I have observed, was chiefly owing to their being so much covered during the Action. They had only one Man (an Officer) taken Prisoner. This was Captain *George Hamilton* * of Colonel *John Roy Stuart's* Regiment, a Man of desperate Valour, and whom *Ascanius* and his Officers greatly confided in. He made a stout Resistance, and killed two Troopers with his own Hand; but was himself at last cut down, and dangerously wounded in the Head and one Shoulder, by one of the *Austrian* Hussars, who voluntarily served the Duke.

The next Morning *Ascanius* arrived at *Carlisle*, after a miserable March all Night. The same Morning also the

* He was tried at *York*, with many others of his Party, and received Sentence of Death.

Duke began his March for the same City, and in his Rout he glean'd up the Stragglers, the Weak, the Weary, the Sick and the Wounded of the *Adventurer's* Army, to the Number of an hundred Men, who were confined in the Country Jails thereabouts.

On the 20th the *English* Army advanced to *Hesket*, which is within a short Day's March of *Carlisle*. At the same Time *Ascanius* leaving that City, continued his March for *Scotland*, fording the River *Esk*, though at that Time swollen very high by the Rains, and many of the *Adventurers* were drowned in attempting this Passage. *Ascanius*, though much against his Will, was forced to leave a small Garrison in *Carlisle*, in order to stop the Duke, and prevent his following him into *Scotland*, at least not so soon as to force him to an Engagement before he had got Recruits both of Men, Money, and Spirits. 'Twas with Regret, I say, that he left any Garrison in *Carlisle*, for he well knew that those Troops must be sacrificed to his Conveniency. Shock'd at the Misfortune they were destined to, he would have forborn this Measure, but was over-persuaded by Mr. *Sullivan*, who insisted that *Ascanius* ought to improve

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this

this Opportunity, and to run the Hazard of sacrificing a few of his Followers, to the Safety of himself and all the rest, who had so chearfully ventured their Lives, and experienced so many Hardships for him in this their unfortunate Expedition into *England*.

The Troops left at *Carlisle* were about 400 Men, half of whom were Recruits raised in *England*, particularly the *Manchester* Regiment. This small Garrison, animated with a greater Share of Courage, and Fidelity to the Cause they had embraced, than of Prudence or Human Foresight, resolved obstinately to defend the City against the *English*. They were greatly spirited up by Mr. *John Hamilton* of *Aberdeenshire*, their Governor; who represented to them that it was both their Duty, and the most honourable Thing they could do, to defend the Place to the last Extremity. The Place is, said he, both by Art and Nature pretty strong, and we have Artillery enough. The *English* hath no Cannon, nor can speedily bring any hither, so that we may, doubtless, hold out a Month. Mean Time *Ascanius* will certainly do all in his Power to relieve us, and who knows how far it may be yet in his

his Power? Besides, the *English* may not, perhaps, when they see us resolute, stay to besiege us in Form, but follow our Friends into *Scotland*; in which Case we may do *Ascanius* some Service, by employing part of the Enemy's Troops to look after us, and thereby, in some Measure pave the Way to his being a Match for 'em in the Field; whereas at present he is in danger of being overwhelmed by Numbers."

On the 21st the Duke's Army entirely invested the City of *Carlisle*, it being thought proper to reduce this important Key of the Kingdom before the Army marched after *Ascanius* into *Scotland*. This Step was disapproved by many of the Government's Friends, who objected that the Duke's Army was amusing itself with a trifling Siege, while *Ascanius* was suffer'd to escape, and had Time given him to strengthen himself by a Junction with the several Corps his Friends had been raising for him in *Scotland*, during his Excursion to the Southward." But these Censurers were doubtless unacquainted with the important Reasons the Duke had for not immediately following his Enemies out of *England*. They did not consider that he

might, by the Time he got to *Carlisle*, be convinced that he could never overtake or bring *Ascanius* to a Battle, unless the latter pleased. That though he might again come up with the Rear of the *Adventurers*, yet the obstinate Resistance they made at *Clifton* was a sufficient Specimen that it would be still as difficult to bring their main Body to an Action, since, as before, the Rear would again cover the Retreat of the rest. And, further, that it could be of little Advantage to the *English* Interest to harraiss and weaken their Army by forced Marches and Skirmishes with the *Adventurers*, who might at last lead them so far to the Northward, and into such a Country as they might find it difficult to subsist in, and in the End, perhaps, become the weaker Party, and have their own Retreat into *England* cut off. And hence, that as it might have been very proper to discontinue the Pursuit, at the Time when it was discontinued, even if *Ascanius* had left no Garrison in *Carlisle*, so it luckily happen'd, to save the Honour of the Pursuers, that this City furnished them with a plausible Pretence for not immediately following the *Adventurers* into *Scotland*, but rather to reduce so important a Place, that the Duke might

might have the Honour of clearing the Kingdom of its Invaders.

As the *English* Army under the Duke was utterly destitute of Artillery and Ammunition proper for a Siege, it was obliged to sit still before the Place till the 26th, when being amply provided with all Things necessary, two Batteries were raised, which play'd upon the City from the 28th to the 30th, in the Morning; when the Garrison having yet no Prospect of Relief from their Friends in *Scotland*, and fearing to be reduced by Storm, thought it most adviseable to hang out the white Flag and capitulate. However the best Terms they could obtain was that they should not be massacred; but reserved for the King's Pleasure; and these, tho' hard indeed, they were forced to accept, and the *English* took Possession of the City the same Day. In this Affair, besides the Men, the *Adventurers* lost 16 Pieces of Ordnance, being all that *Ascanius* had brought with him into *England*, and which he had neither been able or willing to take back into *Scotland*, it being necessary to leave them at *Carlisle* for the Use of the Garrison there. Of this Garrison many have already been tried and condemned, and some have been executed.

parti-

particularly *John Hamilton*, Esq; Governor of *Carlisle*, besides Colonel *Townley* of the *Manchester Regiment*, whom I have before mentioned, and several others.

The Duke had no sooner reduced this City, than he invested General *Hawley* with the chief Command of the Army, with Orders to march it into *Scotland*, there to make such Opposition to the Motions of *Ascanius*, as the future Circumstances of Affairs should direct; mean while the Duke himself returned to his Father's Court, there to concert Measures for entirely compleating the Ruin of the *Adventurers*.

Let us now follow the indefatigable *Ascanius* into *Scotland*, where we shall find him, emerging for his late *Disgrace*, and carrying his Affairs to a higher Pitch of Prosperity than ever: But by the Way, I know not if it be proper to look upon that as a *Disgrace* to *Ascanius*, which was not the Effect of any Want of Vigilance or Capacity in him, but of Treachery or Remissness, or want of ardent Sincerity in those who had made great

* Who (with Sir *John Wedderburn* and three others) was hanged on *Kennington-Common*, November 26, 1746.

Professions

Professions of Zeal for his Interest, and who, after having drawn him into a vain and fatal Dependence upon them, remained indolent Spectators of the Danger they had run him into; and would have left him to perish, had it not pleased God to protect and deliver him in the Hour of Necessity.

December 22, *Ascanius*, who had divided his Forces on the Borders of *Scotland*, march'd with the largest Body, being about 4000 Men, to *Dumfries*, where he, knowing how well that Town was affected to the *English* Interest, demanded of the Inhabitants 2000 l. Contribution Money. Of this 1100 was immediately paid, and Hostages given for the other nine. From hence he moved Northward on the 23d, and on the 25th, he arrived at *Glasgow*, chusing rather to take Possession of that Town (of which he resolved to raise another large Contribution †, in Revenge for its active Zeal against his Party, while he was in the South) than to attempt the Recovery of *Edinburgh*, which the *English* had now put in a much stronger Posture of Defence than it was in when he took

† See the Sum paid him by that City before his Expedition into *England*, p. 17.

it before. *Glasgow* was also the more obnoxious to *Ascanius*, as it had ever been distinguish'd for its Disaffection to his Family, and peculiarly in the Reigns of *Charles* and *James II.* in which it was considered as the principal Fountain of *Whigism* in the North.

Accordingly *Ascanius* quartered his Troops for several Days upon the People of *Glasgow*; and before he left their City, he obliged them to furnish him with Necessaries to the Value of 10000*l.* Sterling. And now it was that *Ascanius* form'd the Design of laying Siege to *Stirling*, one of the strongest and most important Places in *Scotland*. As in order to carry on this Siege all the Forces he had in this Kingdom would be wanted, he dispatched Orders to Lord *John Drummond*, Lord *Lewis Gordon*, the Master of *Lovat* *, and other Chiefs in the North, to advance with their Troops, and give him the Meeting betwixt *Perth* and *Stirling*. These Chiefs had with them a considerable Treasure, which had been landed from on board some *Spanish* Privateers, together with some Artillery, Ammunition, and other Stores. Lord *Lewis Gordon* had also

* Lord *Lovat's* Son.

raised a vast Sum of Money in *Scotland*, some of which was voluntarily contributed, and the rest levied under Pain of military Execution. He and the other Chiefs had also taken other vigorous Measures for serving their Party. The *Hazard* Sloop of War which the *Adventurers* had taken from the *English*, they fitted out for their own Service, as they did also a stout Privateer at *Montrose*, and another armed Sloop at *Pertb*.

January 3, 1745-6, Ascanius and the Troops at *Glasgow* left that City; and on the 5th, having then got the best Part of his Forces together, he summoned the Town of *Stirling* to surrender, but General *Blakeney* who commanded there for the King, gave him a flat Denial, declaring he would sooner lose his Life than betray the Trust that was reposed in him. However, the Town being of no great Strength, though its Castle is, the Inhabitants, after some Hours spent in Treaty, obtained their own Terms of Surrender, and the next Morning the *Adventurers* took Possession of the Town; but the resolute old *Blakeney* retired with the Troops under his Command into the Castle, which he determined to defend to the last Extremity. Again *Ascanius* summons him to surren-

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der,

der, but to as little Purpose as before, and therefore *Ascanius* resolved upon taking this Castle at any Rate, prepared to besiege it in Form with what Artillery he had, which was however insufficient for so considerable an Undertaking.

Mean while Lieutenant-General *Hawley*, Commander in Chief of the *English* Forces in *Scotland*, was assembling a strong, though not numerous Army in the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*; and having all Things in order and fit for Service, he determined to march to the Relief of *Stirling Castle*. But first he detach'd Brigadier-General *Huske* (who was next in Command under *Hawley*) with part of the Army, to dislodge the *Earl of Kilmarnock* from *Falkirk*, where he lay with Part of the young *Adventurer's* Forces, being all the Horse *Ascanius* had; and which, being of little Use in a Siege, he had posted at this Town, which lies in the direct Road from *Edinburgh* to *Stirling*. On the first Intelligence of *Huske's* Approach, *Kilmarnock* retired with some Precipitation to the rest of the Army at *Stirling*, not having Forces enough to stand his Ground against the Brigadier-General's Troops; and thus the Road being opened,

pened, the whole *English* Army marched to *Falkirk*, where *Ascanius* resolved to give them the Meeting.

Ascanius's Affairs were not now in the same Situation as when he was in *England*. Then, encircled by the *English*, and without the least Prospect of any Re-inforcements in Case of a Defeat, it was the highest Prudence in him to avoid an Engagement, and (upon finding that he had nothing to expect from the *English*) to retire into *Scotland* before his Retreat was cut off: But now, at the Head of a Body of resolute Fellows, elate and re-animated by their successful Retreat, the fresh Troops which had joined them, and the Absence of the Duke from the *English* Army, of which he was the very Life and Soul; in these Circumstances *Ascanius* had little to fear as to the Event of an Engagement: He doubted not his Troops in their own Country, in which they had already been so successful; and in which he foresaw many Ways of retrieving the Loss of a Battle.

Hawley's Design was to have attack'd the *Adventurers*, but *Ascanius*, sensible of the Difference betwixt an Army's attacking, and being attack'd, and of the usual Disadvantage in the latter Case,

resolved to prevent the *English*, and give them Battle, without allowing them Time to chuse their Ground. This he did with great Success on the 17th in the Afternoon. The Field of Battle was the *Moor of Falkirk*, about a Mile distant from that Town. *Ascanius* was informed by his Spies that the *English* (who had made great Haste to gain the rising Ground on which they were posted) had left their Cannon in their Camp, and that they would find it very difficult to get any up the Hill ; therefore he resolved to attack them before they could possibly get their Artillery up.

The *English* Army, though formed in a Hurry, advanced in good Order, the Dragoons on the Left, and the Infantry in two Lines. As soon as the adverse Parties came within little more than Musket-shot of each other, *Hawley* order'd the Dragoons to fall on Sword in Hand, and the Foot to advance at the same Time, in order to give the *Adventurers* a close Fire. But before they could execute these Directions, a smart Fire from the latter put the Dragoons into some Disorder, and at the same Time some of the *English* Battalions firing without Orders, increased the Confusion ; and the Dragoons falling

ling in upon the Foot, occasioned their making only one irregular Fire before they began to retreat. *Barrel's* and *Ligonier's* Regiments however were immediately rallied by Brigadier *Cholmondeley* and Col. *Ligonier*. These Troops made a brave Stand, and repulsed the *Adventurers*, who poured upon them very briskly. Mean Time General *Huske*, with great Prudence and Presence of Mind, drew together and formed another Body of Foot in the Rear of the above two Regiments. General *Mordaunt* also rallied another Corps of Infantry, and, upon the Whole, the *English* made a tolerable Retreat to the Camp at *Falkirk*.

This Battle cannot properly be said to have been fought out, or finished. It had certainly been renewed by the Troops on both Sides, who would have fought longer than they did, had not the bad Weather hindred them. The Rain and the Wind were violent, and render'd the Fire-Arms of little Use. Besides, the *English* wanted Artillery, the only Thing they could trust to besides their Firelocks, for they had no Arms to oppose to the broad Swords of the *Highlanders*, except their Bayonets, which they had not yet learned to use

and trust to in a close Conflict. 'Tis true, their Train of Artillery was, during the Action, drawn up the Hill, but the Owners of the Draught-Horses seeing the Army in Disorder, were seized with a Pannick, and rode away with the Horses, so that none could be found to draw the useless Cannon from the Field, by which means the whole Train (except one Piece which the Grenadiers of *Barrel's* Regiment, yoked themselves to and carried off, and three others which the People of *Falkirk* furnished Horses to draw away) fell into the Hands of the *Adventurers*.

The *English* at first, (after quitting the Field) determined to keep Possession of their Camp, and wait to see if *Ascanius* would attempt to dislodge them. But the Rain continued so heavy, the Tents were so excessive wet, and so much of their Ammunition was spoiled, that it was judged improper to expose the Troops to the Inclemency of the Weather, and therefore they were order'd to the Town of *Linlithgow* that Night, purely for the Sake of getting under Shelter: The next Day they continued their Retreat, and in the Evening took up their former Quarters in and about *Edinburgh*. Here they examined into

into their Loss, and missed more Officers in Proportion than Men; for the former behaving much better than the latter, and standing their Ground when the Soldiers gave way, were the more exposed to Danger.—Thus far all the Facts I have mentioned relating to the memorable Battle of *Falkirk*, are admitted by the *English*, and are to be found in their Accounts published by Authority. But let us now consult the Accounts given us by the other Party. The following Narrative was drawn up by Mr. *Sheridan*, and by him transmitted to the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, the *Pope* and other Powers in Alliance with the young *Adventurer's* Family.

“ After an easy Victory, gained by
 “ 8000 over 12000, we remained Ma-
 “ sters of the Field of Battle; but as
 “ it was near five o’Clock before it
 “ ended, and as it required Time for
 “ the *Highlanders* to recover their Mus-
 “ kets,* rejoin their Colours, and form
 “ again in order, it was quite Night
 “ before we could follow the Fugitives.
 “ On

* The Arms of the *Highlanders* are a Musket, a broad Sword and a Target; their manner of fighting is to fire at about 30 Yards Distance, then sling down their Muskets, and rush upon the Enemy with their Swords and Targets.

" On the other Hand we had no Tents
 " nor Provisions; the Rain fell, and
 " the cold sharp Wind blew with such
 " Violence, that we must have perished
 " had we passed the Night on the Field
 " of Battle. And as we could not re-
 " turn to our Quarters without relin-
 " quishing the Advantages of the Victo-
 " ry, the * * * * resolved, tho' without
 " Cannon or Guides, and in the most
 " extreme Darkness, to attack the Ene-
 " my in their Camp; and the Situation
 " of it was very advantageous, and for-
 " tified by strong Retrenchments, their
 " Soldiers were seized with such a Pan-
 " ick on our Approach, that they durst
 " not stay therein, but fled towards *E-*
 " *dinburgh*, having first set Fire to their
 " Tents. They had the Start of us by
 " above an Hour, and some Troops
 " which they left at *Falkirk* disputing
 " our Entrance, gained them another
 " Hour; so that our Cavalry being
 " poorly mounted, could not come up
 " with them: Hence it was that in a
 " Flight in which 5 or 6000 Prisoners
 " might have been taken, we did not
 " make above 500, only half of which
 " were regular Troops. The had 600
 " slain, two Thirds whereof were Horse
 " and Dragoons, but we know not
 " exactly

“ exactly the Number of their Wound-
 “ ed. Our Wounded were not above
 “ 150, and our Slain only 43, Officers
 “ included. We have taken seven Pieces
 “ of Cannon, three Mortars, one Pair
 “ of Kettle-Drums, two Pair of Colours,
 “ three Standards, 600 Muskets, 4000
 “ Weight of Powder, a large Quantity
 “ of Grenadoes, 25 Waggon's loaded
 “ with all Kinds of military Stores,
 “ Tents for 4700 Men, and all the Bag-
 “ gage that escaped the Flames. A-
 “ mong their Officers that fell are five
 “ Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels, with
 “ almost all the Chiefs of *their High-*
 “ *landers* and Militia. Our **** who
 “ at the beginning of the Action, had
 “ been conjured, for the Love of his
 “ Troops, not to expose himself, was
 “ in the second Line of the Picquets ;
 “ but as soon as the left Wing was
 “ thrown into some Disorder, he flew
 “ to their Relief with an Ardour that
 “ was not to be restrain'd. In the Dis-
 “ position of his Troops he followed the
 “ Advice of the Lord *George Murray*,
 “ who commanded the Right Wing,
 “ and fought on Foot during the whole
 “ Action at the Head of his *Highlan-*
 “ *ders*. Lord *John Drummond* com-
 “ manded the Left, and distinguished
 “ himself

“ himself extreemly ; he took two Pri-
 “ soners with his own Hand, had his
 “ Horse shot under him, and was
 “ wounded in the Left-Arm with a Mus-
 “ ket-Ball ; we should likewise do Ju-
 “ stice to the Valour and Prudence of
 “ several other Officers, particularly Mr.
 “ Stapleton, Brigadier in his most Chris-
 “ tian Majesty’s Army, and Comman-
 “ der of the *Irish* Picquets ; Mr. *Sulli-*
 “ *van*, Quartermaster General of the
 “ Army, who rallied part of the Left
 “ Wing ; and Mr. *Brown*, Col. of the
 “ Guards, and one of the Aid de Camps,
 “ formerly of Major Gen. *Lally*’s Regi-
 “ ment.

Camp at *Stirling*,
 1745 6, Jan. 31, N. S.

On the eighteenth, the Day after the
 Battle, *Ascanius* marched his Army back
 to *Stirling* ; and as he was well satisfied
 that *Hawley*’s Design of relieving this
 Fortress was disappointed, he resolved
 to try the Effect of another Summons :
 But *Blakeney* was still in the same Hu-
 mour, repeating what he before declared,
That he had always been looked upon as a
Man of Honour, and the Adventurers
should find he would die so. Hereupon
 the Besiegers began to erect two new Bat-
 teries to play upon the Castle, which in
 the

the mean time they continued to ply with small Arms, which did little or no Mischief, though at the same time it exposed their Men extremely, and they suffered pretty much from the Fire of the *Garrison*. This made the *Highlanders* soon begin to grow out of Humour with the Siege, and their Uneasiness was at length greatly heightened by a Scarcity of Provisions, which obliged *Ascanius* to send out Parties on all Sides, in order to carry off what Corn or Meal they could find in any Part of the Country.

In truth the *Highlanders* are a People no way qualified to be employed in Sieges; being both by Nature and Habit extremely unfit, and equally averse to that kind of Service. Their chief Deficiency lies in their Untractableness, and impatient Disposition; and besides, they are very bad Engineers, of which *Ascanius* had few, or rather not one good one in his Army; such as he had were *French*, and *Irish* in *French* Pay.

In these Circumstances, it will perhaps be asked, why did the Adventurers undertake the Siege of a Place so strong and so well provided as *Stirling*? To this it may be answered, that the Advantages *Ascanius* proposed to himself by the taking of

of this Place were many, but I shall only mention these three. First, it would have added great Reputation to his Arms both in *Britain* and in all *Europe*, as *Stirling Castle* is famous, and reputed a Place of greater Importance than it really is. Secondly, if the *Adventurers* could have got this Place, and fortified *Perth* tolerably, they would hereby have secured the greatest Part of the Kingdom of *Scotland* for the Winter; and thirdly, it would have afforded the Means of maintaining themselves along the Coasts of both Sides the Country, which would have facilitated their receiving Supplies from abroad.—In this Siege we shall at present leave the *Adventurers* engaged, but without making any Progress, disappointed of the Succours they expected from *France* and *Spain*, and very much perplexed to find Ways and Means for subsisting their Troops, which created great Murmurings and Heart-burnings among them: Of so little Profit did the Advantage gained over *Harley* prove to *Afcanius*! A melancholy Omen of what he had to expect hereafter; for if a Victory was of so little Benefit to him, what unfavourable Consequences had he not to apprehend from a Defeat.

When

When the News of the Battle of *Falkirk* reached *London*, the Government thought it highly necessary to take more vigorous Measures than had hitherto been judged requisite) for defeating the Designs of the once more formidable *Ascanius*, who was now more dreaded by the *English* than ever. The Army in *Scotland* was so considerably re-inforced, as to free the *English* Nation from their Apprehensions of the further Progress of the Adventurers, who might be expected to do all in their Power to improve their late Advantage. But as an Invasion by the *French* and *Spaniards* was yet feared in *England*, so it was judged unsafe to drain that Kingdom of its Forces, by sending many of them into *Scotland*, the *Hessian* Troops in *British* Pay, then lying in the Neighbourhood of *Antwerp*, were order'd into the northern Parts of *Britain*; some of them landed in the North of *England*, others in the South of *Scotland*, and immediately they were assembled in the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*, under the Prince of *Hesse*, who had married a Daughter of the King of *England*.

Mean time the Troops under *Hawley* were extremely mortified at their late Disgrace, and it must be confess'd, that many

many of them ardently wish'd for a speedy Opportunity of retrieving their Honour. And in order to this, they were every Day busied in Preparations for marching once more to the Relief of the gallant old *Blakeney*, who still continued to defend the Castle of *Stirling* with such Courage and Constancy, as made the Highlanders so extremely sick of the Siege, that their Chiefs were oblig'd to trust their Works entirely to the *Irish* and *French*, who being but few in Number, were excessively weaken'd and fatigued by this Service.

In a few Days the *English* Army was in all Respects better provided, and in a better Condition than before the Action at *Falkirk*. And to animate the Troops still the more, on the thirtieth of *January* in the Morning, their darling Commander, the young Duke, arrived at *Edinburgh*, after a Journey from *London*, which will appear amazingly expeditious, when the Rigour of the Season and the Length of the Way is considered. He was received by the Army as its Guardian Angel, whose Presence was a sure Omen of Victory. In short, his Arrival banish'd all Remembrance of the late disagreeable Affair, and the Soldiers express'd unusual Ardour to be led against the

the Enemy, bad as the Weather still continued.

The active and indefatigable Duke reviewed the Troops on the Day after his Arrival at *Edinburgh*, and immediately marched them towards *Stirling*, in two Columns, consisting of fourteen Battalions, besides the *Argyleshire Campbell's*, and *Cobham's* and *Ker's* Dragoons. The first Night (*February 1.*) eight Battalions of this Army took Quarters at *Linlithgow*, where the Duke himself lay; Brigadier *Mordaunt* with six Battalions lay at *Burrowslouness*, the Dragoons in the adjacent Villages, and the *Campbell's* took Post in the Front of the Army towards *Palkirk*, where *Ascanius* had stationed a considerable Body of the *Adventurers*. These thought it most commodious to retire on the Approach of the *English*; and marching back in the Night as far as *Torwood*, they were there met by a Courier from *Ascanius*, with Orders to halt there 'till Morning, when himself intended to join them with the rest of the Army from *Stirling*, and to give the Duke Battle.

The next Morning the *English* made the necessary Dispositions for continuing their March, and all the Officers and Soldiers seemed extreamly eager to come to a fresh Trial

Trial with the Adventurers. But hardly had the *English* begun to move forward, e'er they received Advice that the Enemy, instead of preparing for Battle, were re-passing the *Forth* with great Precipitation; and to confirm this Intelligence, the Duke's People actually saw all the advanced Guards of the *Adventurers* retiring from their Posts in great Haste and Confusion. This News was soon after put out of all doubt by the Noise they heard of two great Reports, like the blowing up of Magazines. Hereupon the Duke ordered Brigadier *Mordaunt* to put himself at the Head of the *Argyleshire* Troops and the Dragoons, and to harraß the *Adventurers* in their Retreat. *Mordaunt* begun to execute this Order with all the Alacrity and Diligence imaginable, and arrived late in the same Evening at *Stirling*, where he took Possession of the Camp which *Ascanius* and his Troops had abandoned with all their Artillery. They had also blown up *St. Ninian's Church*, in which they had a great Magazine of Powder and Ball; and the Noise of this Explosion was what the Duke's Army heard as before-mentioned.*

* It was reported in *England* that the *Adventurers* had maliciously and cruelly, decoy'd some of the

The *Adventurers* had likewise left behind them all the wounded Men they had made Prisoners at the Battle of *Falkirk*, together with nineteen of their own sick Men.

As it was very late when *Mordaunt* and his Troops arrived at *Stirling*, and as the Fugitives had broke down the Bridge which crosses the River running by that Town, it was judged unnecessary to continue the Pursuit; and accordingly the Brigadier halted there till the next Day at Noon, when the Duke with the rest of the Army joined them.—Having thus particularly related the Motions of the one Party, let us return and take a View of what *Ascanius* in the mean time had been doing, and attend to an Explanation of his Motives for, and the Obligations he was under of quitting the Camp at *Stirling*, and retiring to the Highlands.

On the Approach of the *English* Troops towards *Falkirk*, the Corps of *Adventurers* quartered there retired, as we have before observed to *Torwood*, where *Asca-*

the Country People to this Church, under Pretence of giving them some of the Effects which they had not Time to carry from thence, but that when the poor unsuspecting People were got thither, they were inhumanly blown up with the Church: But this Report we can assure the Reader was absolutely false.

was intended to join them in the Morning, and to fight the Duke. To this End he called a Council of War, to which he communicated his Purpose, and it met with the general Approbation of the Officers and Chiefs of the Clans. However, when the Troops were ordered to march, the Lowlanders struck with a sudden panic on the Retreat of the detach'd Corps from *Falkirk* to *Torwood*, and the Approach of the Duke with an Army treble the Number of *Ascanius's*; were found to be all in Disorder and Confusion, scatter'd about the Fields, and as it seem'd, preparing rather to shift for themselves than to advance against the Enemy. In vain did their Leaders endeavour to re-inspire them with fresh Courage, telling them, " That now or
 " never was the Time for making them-
 " selves Masters of the whole Kingdom
 " of *Scotland*, by defeating the approach-
 " ing Enemy. But that if they should
 " turn their Backs on a Foe they had
 " hitherto vanquished as oft as engaged,
 " nothing would then remain but a
 " shameful Flight, a Flight that must
 " infallibly bring down the most dread-
 " ful Ruin on themselves, and on their
 " * * * * " In vain, I say, were
 these Representations, the dastardly *Low-*
landers

landers were not to be reanimated. Not even the Presence of the undaunted *Ascanius*, who himself appeared among them; not all his Commands, Intreaties, Reproaches, Exhortations, in the least availed, they attended to nothing but their inaccountable Pannick, and absolutely declared they would not sacrifice themselves, nor madly throw away their Lives by engaging an Enemy so vastly superior both in Numbers and Condition.

Ascanius seeing that it was in vain to waste his precious Minutes on these Troops, gave immediate Orders for their passing the *Forth*, and retiring towards *Perth*; while he with his trusty *Highlanders* would abide the Coming of the Enemy, and defend their Camp to the last Man; himself chusing rather to die on the Spot than join in the ignominious Flight of his Troops. As for the *Highlanders* they were resolved to stand by him at all Hazards, and to share in his Fate, let it prove never so desperate. However a fresh Council of War being held, the Chiefs endeavoured to moderate the extreme Ardour and forlorn Resolution of the less experienced *Ascanius*, whom they besought not to hazard *his All* upon one desperate Engagement.

Among

Among others the Duke of *Perth* strenuously opposed coming to Action with the Duke of *Cumberland*, till their Circumstances should become more favourable, and till they should have somewhat a better Prospect of Victory before they fell to Blows. In fine, it was at last thought expedient, and *Ascanius* resolv'd to decline the Battle for the present, and to march the whole Army into the Highlands, where it was not in the least to be doubted but that they should raise a great Number of Recruits, and in the End either be able fairly to beat the *English* in a pitched Battle, or to harass and ruin them by terrible Marches, Fatigues, the Badness of Country, and the Rigours of the Season; none of which the *English* were so well qualified to endure as the hardy Natives.

In Consequence of the above Resolution, *Ascanius*, with a sorrowful Heart, (for he little thought he should have been obliged to turn his Back on the Enemy so soon after the Advantage he had gain'd at *Falkirk*) gave Orders that all the Troops should quit the Camp immediately, and follow the others that had already marched to pass the *Forth*. This was done with all possible Secrecy and Speed; for the Consequence might have been fatal, had they given the Enemy time to
come

come so nigh as to fall upon their Rear, and interrupt their Retreat. — I shall now give the Reader the Particulars of the Return of *Ascanius* into the Highlands, of the Duke's March after him, in the Form of a Diary or Journal; that the future Transactions of each Party, every Day, from this Period to the decisive Battle of *Culloden*, may be the more regularly exhibited, and the more clearly comprehended by the Reader.

February 2d having broke down the Bridge at *Stirling*, to retard the Enemy's Pursuit, the *Adventurers* entirely quitted the Neighbourhood of that Town, separated themselves into different Corps and took different Routs, though all of them led to the appointed general Rendezvous in the Highlands. Part of them took the Road by *Tay-bridge*, directly towards the Mountains; *Ascanius* with the rest, consisting of Lord *Lewis Gordon's* and Lord *Ogilvie's* Men, the *French* Troops, and what Horse the *Adventurers* had, got to *Perth* the same Evening.

The same Day the Duke entered *Stirling*, where he received the Compliments of General *Blakeney* and the Officers of the Garrison on this memorable Occasion; and at the same Time this young Prince was pleased to testify his extreme Satisfaction

Satisfaction with regard to the good Defence the General had made, by which a Place of so much Importance had been preserved, and the Designs of his dangerous Rival *Ascanius* defeated. Mean while, pursuant to the Duke's Orders, many Hands were employed in repairing the Bridge which the *Adventurers* had broke down after passing it; it being intended to march the Army over this Bridge, as soon as it should be repaired, and to follow the Fugitives into the Mountains.

On the *Third* in the Morning *Ascanius* and his People quitted *Perth*, and continued their march Northwards: Lord *John Drummond*, with the Remains of the *Scotch* and *Irish* Troops which he had brought from *France*, made directly for *Montrose*. The *Adventurers* left behind them at *Perth* thirteen Pieces of Iron Cannon, nailed up; and they flung a great Quantity of Ammunition into the River, together with fourteen Swivel Guns which they had taken out of the *Hazard Sloop*.

February 4th, Notwithstanding the Retreat of the *Adventurers* was made with the utmost Hurry and Precipitation, yet it was barely made in Time; for on this Day, early in the Morning, the Bridge

Bridge being sufficiently repaired, the Army passed over, and the advanced Guard, consisting of the *Argyle* & *Highlanders* and the *Dragoons*, marched that Night as far as *Chif*, but the Foot were cantoned in an about *Dumblain*, where the Duke took up his Quarters that Evening.

The next Day the Duke's advanced Guards took Possession of *Perth*, meantime the *Adventurers* were continuing their Retreat to the Northward, in which we will leave them for a little while, and stop to make a short Reflexion on one of the most surprizing Instances of the great Effects of a General's Reputation that any History hath ever been exhibited. — In the Space of a single Week, the Duke of *Cumberland* posted from his Father's Court, travelled above three hundred Miles in the midst of Winter, put himself at the Head of the Forces in *Scotland*, and saw his Enemies flying with Precipitation before him; those very Enemies, who in his Absence despised those very Troops by whom they were now pursued, and who were now grown terrible to the *Flyers*, chiefly on account of only one single Person's having resumed the Command of them. Should the Duke's best Friends endeavour to
heighten

heighten this Event by any Strains of Compliment or Panegyrick, they would only obscure it; the bare Recital of the Matter of Fact is the noblest Eulogium, and the only Remark I shall add is this, that as surprizing and incredible as it may seem to Posterity, it must be at present allowed a Truth notorious to the whole *British Nation*.

Ascanius was very sensible how much the News of this his Retreat would alarm his Friends both at home and abroad; and therefore he caused several printed Papers to be dispersed, setting forth his Reasons for taking this Step. I have already mentioned some of them; besides which the following were assigned, viz.

“ That as his Men, particularly the
 “ Highlanders, were loaded with the Booty they had collected both in *England*
 “ and *Scotland*, it was very proper to
 “ let them convey it Home, where it
 “ might be lodged in Safety; and, further, that this would secure to them an
 “ acquired Property for which they
 “ would doubtless fight valiantly to the
 “ last, and be induced to stand by the
 “ * * * * not only on his account,
 “ but also on their own. That, moreover, it was necessary, after so fatiguing
 “ tugging

“ tiguing a Campaign, to allow the
 “ Troops some Relaxation, after which,
 “ when well refreshed and recruited,
 “ they would not fail to make another
 “ Irruption into the Lowlands, in the
 “ next Spring.”

Ascanius had, moreover, another Reason, which he did not yet think proper publickly to divulge. He judged that by removing the War into the *Highlands*, and by the Reports that might be spread of the Severities of the Enemy's Troops, his Men would be the better kept together, which he now found difficult to do, and would also contribute to encrease the Number of his Followers. He had besides these another Reason, which was, the giving his Friends of *France* and *Spain* a good Opportunity for attempting an Invasion in the South; which he flatter'd himself would afford such a Diversion as might go near to free him from all his Difficulties. He had also a great Desire to make himself Master of the Chain or Line of Fortifications, which run along the North of *Scotland*; viz. the Forts, *William*, *Augustus* and *George*, the last being the Castle of *Inverness*. By taking these Places, he would be able to secure the Country behind him, and thereby afford

Means for his Friends abroad to land the Reinforcements, of which he had received large Promises, but which had hitherto been (and indeed, never were any otherwise than) slightly and ineffectually performed.

But the Duke, who had very good Intelligence of all the Enemies Motions, and had always Spies among them, easily penetrated all their Views, and took the most proper Measures that could be thought on for defeating them. He marched the Army by different Roads to *Aberdeen*, where he resolved to fix his Head Quarters, to raise Magazines, and to receive such Succours and Supplies, as from Time to Time might come by Sea from *England*; nor were the Adventurers able to surprise any of these separate Corps, Care being taken that every Detachment should be strong enough to make a good Defence in Case of an Attack.

He station'd the *Hessian* Troops, and some Corps of *English*, at the Castles of *Blair* and *Menzies*, at *Perth*, *Dunkeld*, and other Places, by which he entirely secured the Passage into the Lowlands, and put it out of the Power of the *Adventurers* to return that Way into the South. The *Argyleshire* Men, under
their

their warlike Leader, General *Campbell*, undertook the Defence of *Fort William*, a Place at that Time of infinite Importance, as it secured another Passage through the West of *Scotland*, by which *Ascanius* might have made his Way into *England* a second Time.

Having taken these Precautions, the Duke set out for *Aberdeen*, where he arrived on the 28th of *February*. The necessary Dispositions having been made for continuing the Operations of the War, the *English* Generals judged it necessary to make Examples of some who had heretofore misbehaved: This was highly expedient, for the better Support of Discipline, at a Time when it was so requisite for the Security, as well as Reputation of their Troops, which had suffer'd not a little by the scandalous Behaviour of some Regiments and some particular Officers at the Battles of *Gladsmuir* and *Falkirk*.

Accordingly a Court Martial was held at *Montrose*, by which Capt. * * * * *, an Officer in the Artillery, who had deserted the Train in the Action at *Falkirk*, was sentenc'd to have his Sword broke over his Head by the Provost, his Sash thrown on the Ground, and himself turned out of the Army; and this was

accordingly executed at the Head of the Artillery.* A Lieutenant in *Fleming's* Regiment was broke for disobeying Orders, and prevaricating before a Court Martial, on account of the plundering the House of Mr. *Oliphant* of *Gask*, a zealous *Adventurer*, and who was at that Time with *Ascanius* in the Mountains. From this and other Instances which might be produced, all impartial Men must be led to acknowledge, that the Burnings, Plunderings, and Devastations of the Houses and Estates of the *Adventurers*, wherewith the King's Troops have been charged, were not absolutely connived at, nor permitted with so much Impunity as reported by some over-zealous People.—Let us now return to *Ascanius*, who, in Prosecution of his Designs, made it his first Care to become Master of *Inverness*.

* This is the Gentleman mentioned in the *Adventurers* Account of the Battle of *Falbirn*, who cut an Artery to avoid the disgraceful Punishment he expected for his Cowardice: But he miss'd his Point; recovered the Blow thus aimed at his own Life, and liv'd to receive the Reward of his Pusillanimity and Folly. Strange Infatuation! that a Man should do that to avoid an honourable Death, which he knew might probably bring him to a shameful Death, or a Disgrace which he dreaded worse than Death; and to avoid which, he afterwards chose to end his Life in a Manner the most shocking to a reasonable Mind, even by his own Hand: This is what I cannot, in few Words account for.

Inverness

Inverness is a Town of some tolerable Trade ; it lies on the East Side of the Highlands, has a good Port, but the Fortrefs or Castle is small, and of no great Strength. Lord *Loudon* was then there, with about 1600 of the new rais'd Men before-mentioned. With these he marched out to fight the *Adventurers* ; but, upon their Aproach, finding them much stronger than he expected, he judged it proper to retreat, and also to abandon the Town of *Inverness*, which he did without the Loss of a Man, leaving Major *Grant* with two Independant Companies in the Castle, with Orders to defend it to the last Extremity.

These Orders were however, but indifferently obeyed ; for *Ascanius* no sooner appeared before the Place, than the Hearts of the Garrison begun to fail ; and after a very short Siege, the *Adventurers* became Masters of the Town and Castle, and here *Ascanius* fixed his Head Quarters.

Besides the 4000 Troops which now lay at *Inverness*, *Ascanius* had several detach'd Parties abroad ; and some of these falling upon several small Corps of the Duke's Highlanders station'd about the Castle of *Blair*, defeated them with little Loss to the Victors. These Suc-

cesses raised the Spirits of the whole Party of the *Adventurers*, notwithstanding the Badness of their Quarters, want of Pay, Scarcity of Provisions, and other Inconveniencies.

And now, in Spite of all the Difficulties he lay under, *Ascanius* resolved to prosecute his Design upon the Forts *Augustus* and *William*. The former * of these was accordingly attack'd. There was at that Time in the Place but a small Garrison, consisting only of three Companies of *Guise's* Regiment, commanded by Major *Wentworth*; so that it was speedily reduced, and as speedily demolished, which was the same Fate that Fort *George*, (*i. e.* the Castle of *Inverness*) had already met with: A clear Demonstration that *Ascanius* did not now think it necessary to have any Garrison in that Part of the Country. But being still incommoded by the Neighbourhood of Lord *Loudon*, who lay at the Back of the *Adventurers*, with only the Frith of *Murray* between them; the Duke of *Perth*, the Earl of *Cromartie*, and some other Chiefs resolved to attempt the sur-

* Fort *Augustus* is a small Place, and only important by its Situation between *Inverness* and Fort *William*, making the middle Link of this Chain of Fortifications.

prizing of *Loudon*, by the Help of Boats, which they drew together on their Side of the Frith. Taking the Advantage of the Fog, they executed their Scheme so effectually, that falling upon the Earl's Forces quite unexpectedly, they cut off some, made a good many Officers Prisoners, and obliged *Loudon* to retire with the rest out of the County of *Sutherland*.

But, tho' these Advantages made a good deal of Noise, and greatly contributed to the keeping up the Spirits of his Party; yet, in the End they proved but of little Service to *Ascanius*. Money now began to be very scarce with him, and Supplies both from Home and Abroad fell much short of his Expectations. In short, his People began to grumble for their Pay, and required their Arrears; and as their Demands were not speedily to be satisfied, new Divisions and Heart-burnings arose among them: A sure Presage of the approaching Ruin of the whole Party.— Let us now return to the Duke, and see what he hath been doing since we conducted him to *Aberdeen*.

Though the Rigour of the Season, the Badness of the Roads, and the Difficulty of supporting so great a Number

of Men as he had under his Command, were sufficient to exercise the Abilities of the most experienced General ; yet the Duke disposed of his Troops in such a Manner, as proved effectual, both for their Safety and Subsistence ; and at the same Time took Care to distress the *Adventurers* as much as possible. For the very Day after he came to *Aberdeen*, he detach'd the Earl of *Ancram* with an hundred Dragoons, and Major *Morris* with three hundred Foot to the Castle of *Corgarf*, at the Head of the River *Don*, forty Miles from *Aberdeen*, and in the Heart of the Country then possessed by the *Adventurers*, and wherein they had a large Magazine of Arms and Ammunition, which the Earl had Orders to seize or destroy. This was executed with great Facility, the Garrison, upon his Lordship's Approach, abandoning the Place with great Precipitation, not allowing themselves Time to carry off their Stores. However, for Want of Horses, the *English* could not convey away all the Spoil, but were oblig'd to destroy most of the Arms, and above thirty Barrels of Powder.

On the sixteenth of *March*, the Duke received Intelligence, that Colonel *Roy Stuart*, one of the Chiefs of the *Adventurers*,

turers, had posted himself at *Straitbogie*, having with him a thousand Foot, and a Troop of *Hussars*. Hereupon Lieutenant General *Bland* was sent with a strong Detachment to attack the Colonel, and Brigadier General *Mordaunt* was order'd after him with another Party and some Cannon, in order to support *Bland* if Occasion should be. The next Day the Major General arrived at *Straitbogie*, but *Stuart* only waited 'till the Enemy were advanced almost within Sight, and then he quitted the Place; and, notwithstanding the strict Orders he had received from *Ascanius*, retreated with great Precipitation towards *Keith*. Though the Weather was wet and hazey, yet the Marquis of *Granby*, Colonel *Conway*, and Captain *Halden*, with the Volunteers, continued the Pursuit 'till Night. But Fortune, tho' she had thus far seemed to favour these Gentleman, play'd them a slippery Trick at last. For General *Bland* having detach'd a Captain of the *Argyleshire Campbell's*, with seventy of his Men, and thirty of *Kingston's* Horse, to clear the Village of *Keith*, and then rejoin the Army; they, contrary to their Directions, ventur'd to Quarter in this Place for that Night. This gave the *Adventurers*,

turers, who had been driven out of the Village, an Opportunity for surprizing the Captain and his Party, which they improved in the following manner. Returning in the Night from *Fochabers*, whither they had retired, they surrounded the Town of *Keith*, enter'd it at both Ends, and furiously attack'd the *Argyle-shire Highlanders*, who were quarter'd in the Church yard. The brave *Campbells* defended themselves with the greatest Resolution, but were at length over-power'd by Numbers, and most of them cut to Pieces; however they sold their Lives at a dear rate. The Duke of *Kingston's* Horse came off but little better; the Cornet who commanded them escaping with only a third of his Men: But this Accident made the Duke's People much more circumspect for the future, and nothing of that kind happened afterwards. Indeed, the Dispositions made by their excellent young Commander, put all Attempts of that Sort out of the Power of *Ascanius*, who narrowly watch'd for such Opportunities, and had they occur'd, would doubtless have improved them to the utmost: Though at that Time unable to encounter the *English* in the open Field, the *Adventurers*, had they found means

means to surprize them, either in the Night or otherwise, might have put an End to the Dispute at one Blow, and *Ascanius*, had perhaps been enabled to make a second and more successful Expedition into *England*.

The *English* Army was canton'd in three Divisions as follows. The whole first Line, consisting of six Battalions, *Kingston's* Horse and *Cobham's* Dragoons, lay at *Straitbogie*, within twelve Miles of the River *Spey*, and was commanded by the Earl of *Albemarle*, assisted by Major General *Bland*. The second Line consisting of six Battalions, and Lord *Mark Ker's* Dragoons lay at *Aberdeen*; and the third Line, or Corps de reserve, consisting of three Battalions, with four Pieces of Cannon, was stationed at *old Meldrum*, half Way, betwixt *Straitbogie* and *Aberdeen*.

Fort Augustus being taken, *Ascanius*, who was very well apprised of the great Importance of *Fort William*, resolved to leave nothing unattempted that might contribute towards the Reduction of this Fortress also. By the taking of *Fort William*, he would have made himself Master of the whole Extent of Country from East to West, and from Sea to Sea; and would besides, as I have already

ready observed, have opened him a Passage into *Argyleshire*, and the West of *Scotland*.

Brigadier *Stapleton*, of his most Christian Majesty's Forces, hath already been mentioned. This brave and experienced Officer was sent by *Ascanius* to besiege *Fort William*. He had with him a large Corps of the best Men among the *Adventurers*, and a pretty good Train of Artillery, considering how much Ordnance *Ascanius* had lately lost. The Brigadier with a thousand Men, arrived at *Glenavis*, in the Neighbourhood of this Fortrefs, on the third of *March*. About this Time, it was that this Detachment took a Boat belonging to the *Baltimore* Sloop, Capt. *Richard How*, which was employed in the Service of the Garrison of *Fort William*. On the other Hand, Captain *Askew* of the *Serpent* Sloop, sending his own Boat, with another belonging to the *Baltimore*, and a third belonging to the Garrison, forced *Stapleton's* People from the Narrows of *Carron*, where they were posted, and made themselves Masters of all the Boats the *Adventurer* had in these Parts: This was on the fourth of *March*, and proved a most important and well-tim'd Piece of Service to the Government.

As

As the Siege of *Fort William* was the only regular Operation of that kind, which happened during the Continuance of this Civil War, a regular Journal of it as drawn up by an Officer employed in the Siege, may not be unacceptable to the Reader.

Journal of the Siege of Fort-William.

MARCH the fourteenth, the *Adventurers* continuing in the Neighbourhood of *Fort William*, and the Garrison at last perceiving that they were actually to undergo a Siege, began to heighten the Parapets of their Walls on the Side where they apprehended the first Attack would be made. This Work lasted a whole Week, and the two Faces of the Bastions were raised seven Foot high. On the fifteenth, a Detachment of the Garrison, with some Men belonging to the Sloops of War before-mentioned, went in armed Boats, to attempt the destroying of *Kilmady Barns*, commonly called the *Corpoeh*. *Stapleton* having Notice of their Motions, and suspecting their Intention, sent

sent out a strong Party to frustrate it. However, the falling of the Tide contributed as much as any thing to the Miscarriage of this Scheme. Some firing indeed passed on both Sides, but little Damage was done on either. On the Side of the Garrison a Sailor was killed, and three Men were wounded. The *Adventurers* had five Men wounded, four of them mortally.

On the eighteenth the *Baltimore* went up towards *Kilmady Barns*, in order to cover the landing of some Men for a fresh Attempt upon this Place. He threw some Cohorn Shells, and set one Hovel on Fire, but the King's Party were nevertheless prevented from landing, the *Adventurers* firing upon them with great Advantage from behind the natural Intrenchment of a hollow Road or Rill. The *Baltimore's* Guns being only four Pounders, had no Effect upon the Stone Walls of the *Corpoch*: However, the Sloop and the King's Forces retired without any Damage. On the Side of the *Adventurers*, one of their principal Engineers was killed, but no other Man hurt. This Day three Centinels and a Drummer of *Guise's* Regiment, who had been taken at *Fort Augustus*, made their escape from the
High-

Higblanders, and got safe into *Fort William*.

On the twentieth, several Parties of the Garrison being appointed to protect their Turf-diggers, frequent Skirmishes happen'd between these and *Stapleton's* People; but as both Sides skulked behind Crags and Rocks, so neither received any Damage.

The same Evening the *Adventurers* opened the Siege, by discharging at the Fort seventeen Royals, or small Bombs, of five Inches and a half Diameter, weighing about sixteen and eighteen Pounds each, and loaded with fourteen Ounces of Powder: These were play'd off from a Battery erected on a small Hill called the *Sugar-Loaf*, about eight hundred Yards off, which being at too great a Distance, the Ordnance did little Execution, the greatest Part falling short. On the other Hand the Garrison answered the Besiegers with eight Bombs of eighteen Inches Diameter, six Cohorns, one twelve Pounder, six five Pounders, and two Swivels.

Friday the twenty-first, the *Adventurer's* finding that their Batteries were too far off, erected a new one at the Foot of the *Cow-Hill*, about four hundred Yards off; from which, between
twelve

twelve and four in the Morning, they discharged eighty-four of their Royals, which did little Damage, except penetrating through the Roofs of several Houses, and slightly wounding three Men. The Garrison this Day answered the Besiegers with twenty Bombs, nine Cohorns, three Six Pounders, and two Swivels.

On the twenty-second, the Besiegers opened their Battery of Cannon from *Sugar-Loaf Hill*, consisting only of three Guns, six and four Pounders; but discharged only seven times, and that without doing any Damage. About twelve o'Clock the same Day, General *Stapleton* sent a *French Drum* to the Fort, upon whose Approach, and beating a Parley, Captain *Scot*, Commander of the Garrison, ask'd him what he came about? The Drummer answer'd, that General *Stapleton*, who commanded the Siege by Directions from *Ascanius*, had sent him with a Letter to the commanding Officer of the Garrison, requiring him to surrender. To this Captain *Scot* reply'd, *I will receive no Letters from REBELS, and am determined to defend the Fort to the last Extremity.* The Drummer returning to *Stapleton* with this Answer, a close Bombarding ensued on both

both Sides, for some Hours; but at last the Garrison silenced the Besiegers, by beating down their principal Battery. However, about ten that Night, they opened another Bomb Battery, near the Bottom of the *Cow-Hill*, about three hundred Yards off; from which, and from their Battery upon *Sugar-Loaf Hill*, they discharged before three in the Morning, one hundred and ninety-four of their Royals, and six Cannon against the Fort; but all this without doing any other Mischief, than the Demolition of the Roofs of a few Houses. The Garrison did not return them one Shell, but kept all their Men within Doors, except the Piquet, to stand by the Fire-Engine; the Governor and most of the Officers being upon the Ramparts.

On the twenty-third, as soon as Day-light appeared, the Garrison fired twenty-three Bombs, two Cohorns, two twelve Pounders, seven six Pounders, and six Swivels at the Besiegers Batteries; some of which tore up their Platforms. The *Adventurers* in Return, fired as briskly as they were able upon the Fort, but did the Besieged no other Damage, than the shooting off the Leg of a private Soldier.

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The same Day about three in the Afternoon, some Vessels appeared with Supplies for the Besieged, who on Sight of the Ships all at once discharged eight twelve Pounders, two six Pounders, two Bombs, and several Cohorns against the Besieger's Batteries, which were all so well levell'd as to do great Execution, and occasioned much Confusion among the *Adventurer's*; who, besides the Damage done their Batteries, had several Men kill'd, and many wounded. However, to cheer the Men, the Officers gave out that they would certainly burn the Fort within four Hours after their next new Battery was erected. And accordingly all this Evening the People were employed in erecting another Work or Battery, under Cover of their Cannon, and at the Distance of three hundred Yards, at the Foot of the *Cow-Hill*.

On the twenty-fourth, neither Party fired much, and the Garrison employed the greatest Part of the Day in getting their Supplies of Provisions on Shore.

The 25th, at Day-break, Capt. *Scot* sent out a Party to a Place about six Miles off, to bring in some Cattle. The *Adventurers* fired very briskly this Morning, and the Garrison plied them a little with

with their Mortars and Guns. About Three in the Afternoon the aforementioned Party return'd with nineteen good Bullocks and Cows. The same Evening another Detachment went from the Fort for another Prize of Bullocks ; and with Orders to pass the Narrows of *Carron*, and to get off all they could from the adjacent Estates of the *Adventurers*.

On the 26th the Garrison fired slowly at the Besieger's Batteries on the Hills ; and as the latter now only fired from two Guns, the former perceived that they had dismounted the third. In the Afternoon the last mentioned Party returned with a Booty of black Cattle and Sheep, from the Country near *Ardshields* ; they also brought in four Prisoners, one of whom was dangerously wounded ; they had likewise burn'd two Villages belonging to one of the Chiefs of the *Adventurers*, together with the whole Estate of the unfortunate *Appin*.

The same Night Capt. *Scot* went out and dammed up some Drains near the Walls of the Fort, in hopes of rainy Weather, to make a small Inundation ; and with some Pioneers raised the Glacis, or rather Parapet, to seven Feet. For want of Pallisadoes the Garrison could not make a right Cover'd Way, but

then this might serve to hinder the Besiegers from seeing the Foot of their Walls.

On the 27th, at Day-break, the *Adventurers* open'd their new Battery of four Embrazures, but only with three Guns, Six-pounders, with which, however, they fired very briskly. But the Garrison plying them with their Mortars and Guns, silenced one of the Besiegers Guns before eight in the Morning. About Nine the Magazine Battery of the Besiegers was set on Fire, and it blew up. This Day the Garrison received no other Damage than the wounding of two Men and the Governor's Horse in the Stable. The *Adventurers* had three Men killed outright, and nine dangerously wounded.

On the 31st Capt. *Scot* order'd twelve Men from each Company to march out to the Craggs, about an hundred Yards from the Walls, where the *Adventurers* had a Battery, which, after some Dispute, and the Loss of a Serjeant of the *Argyleshire* Highlanders, the Men from the Garrison made themselves Masters of. The Victors brought off from this Battery, three Brass Field-pieces, Four-pounders, and two Cohorns, from which the Besiegers threw their Shells; also
another

another Brass-Cannon, a Six-pounder, which being too heavy to draw in, they spik'd and left under the Wall, whence they afterwards dismounred it by Cannon-Shot. The other large Cannon and Mortars on that Battery they likewise spik'd, and left there; and brought away two Prisoners. The *Adventurers*, however, still continued, with five Cannon they had yet mounted, to give the Garrison all the Disturbance in their Power, and destroy'd the Roofs of most of the Houses; but the Garrison did not mind that, the Men being safe.

On the 3d of *April*, the *Adventurers* received Orders from *Ascanius* to quit the Siege immediately, and to join him at *Inverness* with all possible Speed. Hereupon General *Stapleton* retir'd from the Place with the utmost Precipitation, and repair'd to *Inverness*.

As soon as Capt. *Scot* perceived that the Besiegers had turn'd their Backs on the Fort, he detach'd a Party of the Garrison, which secured eight Pieces of Cannon and seven Mortars, the *Adventurers* not having Time to carry off such cumbersome Movables. The Miscarriage of this Enterprize may be consider'd as the immediate Prelude to the many Disasters which afterwards befell the *Adventurers*, one
Misfortune

Misfortune immediately following upon the Heels of another, 'till their Affairs become wholly desperate, and their Force entirely crush'd by the decisive Action of *Culloden*.

The Reason of this sudden and hasty Retreat of the *Adventurers*, from before *Fort-William*, was the Necessity *Ascanius* was under of drawing together all his Forces in the Neighbourhood of *Inverness*, upon the Approach of the Duke of *Cumberland* with the *English* Army. But before we come to treat of the Measures taken by the *Adventurers* after the raising of this Siege, it is requisite that we give some Account of another Misfortune which befell them, which was no less fatal in its Consequences, than the Disappointment of their Design upon *Fort-William*.

We have already observed, that they were in great Distress for Money, and other Necessaries, and waited impatiently for a Supply from *France*; which they hoped (notwithstanding the Mis-carriage of so many Vessels that had been fitted out for *Scotland*) would soon arrive on board the *Hazard* Sloop, to which they had given the Name of the *Prince Charles* Snow, and which they

had Intelligence was at Sea, with a considerable Quantity of Treasure from *France* on board, and a good Number of experienced Officers and Engineers, who were very much wanted.

On the 25th of *March*, this long look'd for Vessel arrived in *Tongue-Bay*, into which she was followed by the *British* Sloop of War the *Sheernefs*, commanded by Capt. O *Brian*, who immediately attack'd her. In the Engagement the *Hazard* had a great many Men killed, and not a few wounded; so that not being able to maintain the Fight, she ran ashore on the Shallows, where the *Sheernefs* could not follow her; and there landed her Men and Money. The Place on which she ran ashore, after being chased fifty Leagues, was in the *Lord Rea's* Country; and it happen'd there was then in his Lordship's House, his Son, Capt. *Mackay*, Sir *Henry Monroe*, Lord *Charles Gordon*, Capt. *Macleod*; and about eighty Men of *Lord Loudon's* Regiment, who had retir'd thither when the *Adventurers*, under the Duke of *Perth* and the Earl of *Cromarty*, attack'd them by Boats, as hath been before related. These Gentlemen having animated the Soldiers, advanced against the People who landed from on board

board the *Hazard*, and, notwithstanding the Superiority of the latter as to Numbers, gained a compleat Victory, tho' without much Bloodshed on either Side; for not above four Men of the *Adventurers* fell, and not one of the other Party, though many were wounded. Besides five Chests of Money, and a considerable Quantity of Arms, the Victors took a hundred and fifty-six Officers, Soldiers, and Sailors Prisoners; with whom they embarked on board the *Sheerness*, and sailed directly for *Aberdeen*, in Company with another Prize which Captain *O Brian* had taken in the *Orkneys*. The Money, exclusive of one Chest which was missing, and what had been taken out of another that was broke, amounted to twelve thousand and five hundred Guineas; and amongst the Prisoners there were forty one experienced Officers, who had been long either in the *French* or *Spanish* Service.

At the same Time that *Ascanius* employ'd so great a Part of his Forces in attacking *Fort William*, he sent another Body under the Command of Lord *George Murray*, to make a like Attempt upon the Castle of *Blair*, the principal Seat of his Grace the Duke of *Athol*, but a Place of no great Force, and in which
there

there was only a small Garrison, under the Command of Sir *Andrew Agnew*; which Siege, or rather Blockade, Lord *George* raised with the same Hurry and Precipitation (on the Approach of the Earl of *Crawford*, with a Party of *English* and *Hessians*), as *Stapleton* did that of *Fort William* upon the very same Day, and from the very same Motives.

Having thus, in as clear and as succinct a Manner as possible, run through all the Operations of the *Adventurers*, and shewn how all their several Bodies were drawn off, in order to join the Corps under *Ascanius* at *Inverness*, and enable him to make a Stand there, in Case the Duke of *Cumberland* should think of paying him a Visit on that Side the *Spey*; let us now return to the latter, whom we left properly disposed to march, as soon as the Season and Roads would permit, in Hopes of putting an End to all the future Hopes of *Ascanius*, by one general and decisive Action.

The Duke's Troops, notwithstanding the Severity of the Winter, and the Fatigues they had endured by making a double Campaign, were in the beginning of *April*, so well refresh'd, and in such excellent Order, that they were in all Respects fit for Service; and so far

from apprehending any thing from the Impetuosity of the *Highlanders* of the adventuring Party, or the Advantage they had in lying behind a very deep and rapid River, that they shewed the greatest Eagerness to enter upon Action. But though the Duke encouraged and took every possible Measure for keeping up this Ardour in his Army, yet he acted with great Deliberation, and did not move till the Weather was settled, and there was no Danger that the Cavalry should suffer for want of Forage.

At length, *April* the Eighth, the *English* Army moved from *Aberdeen*, and encamped on the Eleventh at *Cullen*, where the Earl of *Albemarle* joined them: Here all the Troops being assembled together, the Duke gave Orders for their immediately passing the River *Spey*. Mean time *Ascanius* was continually busied in a Council of War, which he held Day and Night, and in which it was debated whether or not they should suffer the *English* to pass the River, and then come to Action, or whether they should defend the Banks, in order to gain Time by obliging the Duke to remain on the other side. *Ascanius* with the Warmth of a young General,

General, eagerly argued for the latter Measure ; but most of the other Chiefs were of Opinion that it would be less hazardous to adhere to the first. The old Duke of *Athol*, alias the Marquis of *Tullibardine*, with great Coolness and Judgment advised to give the Enemy a free Passage, if it should prove that they really were determined to attempt it. “ They are, said he, well provided
 “ with Cannon and Engineers, of both
 “ which we are in great Want : Con-
 “ sequently they have it in their Power
 “ to cover the Passage of their Troops,
 “ and mow down whole Ranks on the
 “ opposite Shore, while we are desti-
 “ tute of the like Means for opposing
 “ them with any Prospect of Success ;
 “ and what other Means can we trust
 “ to? to our Swords and small Fire-Arms
 “ we cannot, for their Cannon will
 “ not suffer us to come within Mus-
 “ ket-shot of the River. In short, I
 “ believe no Gentleman here can (after
 “ mature Consideration) reasonably hope
 “ for Success by attempting to hinder
 “ the Enemy’s Passage. If we do at-
 “ tempt to hinder them, and prove una-
 “ ble to do it, we are ruined inevitably.
 “ It will be impossible to rally and bring
 “ our Men to renew the Conflict after our

“ Enemies have got ample Footing on
 “ this Side the River ; and, on the other
 “ hand, will it not at the same Time be
 “ too late to make any other Retreat
 “ than a mere Flight for our Lives ; and
 “ after such Flight, can we ever hope to
 “ face the Enemy again ? But if we re-
 “ main here and suffer them to pass
 “ over to us, we have a fairer Chance :
 “ We shall then have Time enough to
 “ get ready for a regular Action, or a
 “ regular Retreat, according as Circum-
 “ stances occur. If we fight, we have
 “ the same Advantages that we had at
 “ *Glaidsmuir* and *Falkirk*. If we retreat,
 “ we may take our Time, and having
 “ a sufficient Distance betwixt us and the
 “ Enemy, may march off either in the
 “ Day or Night, and shall have leisure
 “ enough to take Care of our Rear.
 “ I said we have the same Advantages
 “ as at *Falkirk* or *Glaidsmuir*, and I may
 “ further add, that we have also a
 “ Chance which cannot turn out to our
 “ Disadvantage, and may prove of in-
 “ finite Service to us. If we come to
 “ Action with the Enemy after they are
 “ entirely on this Side the *Spey*, and
 “ gain an entire Victory over them,
 “ we may possibly cut them entirely off
 “ before

“ before they can find Means to repass
 “ the River. In this Case their Force
 “ in *Scotland* will be absolutely ruined,
 “ we shall carry all before us in this
 “ Kingdom, and perhaps none on this
 “ Side *London* shall be able to stop our
 “ Progress: One lucky Battle may yet
 “ put us in Possession of that Capital.”

The noble old Lord pronounc'd the latter Part of this Speech with so warm an Emphasis, as produced a great Effect on the young Officers, and even upon *Ascanius* himself: However the Question was long controverted before it was decided; but at last it was resolved to follow the Marquis of *Tullibardine's* Advice, and suffer the Enemy to pass the River without the least Opposition; and mean Time *Ascanius* prepared every Thing for attacking the Duke: Nor was he at all disheartened by the superior Numbers of the Enemy, whom however he did not all despise, though he had already twice vanquished them; and much less did he despise the known Valour and Capacity of his gallant young Rival the Duke, aspiring to no greater Honour than the Vanquishing so noble an Enemy.

Early in the Morning of the twelfth of *April*, fifteen Companies of the *English*

glish Grenadiers, the *Argyleshire* and other *Highlanders* of that Party, and all the Duke's Cavalry, advanced towards the *Spey*, under the Conduct of the Duke himself, assisted by Major General *Huske*. This Party no sooner arrived on the Bank of the River, than immediately the Cavalry began to pass it, under cover of two Pieces of Cannon. Mean Time a Body of about two thousand *Adventurers*, whom *Ascanius* had posted within Ken of this Part of the River, retired as the Enemy passed over, and thereupon the young *Adventurer* began to call in his out Parties, as was before related.

The Duke of *Kingston's* Horse were the First that forded the River, sustained by the Grenadiers and *Highlanders*; the Foot waded over as fast as they arrived, and notwithstanding the Rapidity and Depth of the Water, which in some Places came up to their Breasts, they went through with great Chearfulness, and without any other Loss than one Dragoon and four Women, who were drowned through Hurry and their own Indiscretion. The Duke's Army marched on to *Elgin* and *Forres* the same Day; and from thence to *Nairn*, where they halted on the 15th. Mean Time *Asca-*
nus

nus was busied in Preparations for attacking the Enemy, in encouraging his Men, and collecting them altogether, which however he had not sufficient time to do, and some of the Clans never arrived till it was too late. In short, the Army of the *Adventurers* at this Time did not amount to more than seven thousand Men; so that it was no extraordinary Thing for the *English*, who were much superiour in Numbers to defeat them, especially when animated and inspired by the Presence and noble Example of so gallant a General as the Duke.

The memorable Battle of *Culloden* was fought on the 16th of *April*, 1746: *Ascanius* had formed the Design of surprizing his Enemies on the 15th, while they were at *Nairn*, but was prevented by the Vigilance and strict Discipline of the Duke; and hereupon both Parties advanced to decide the Fate of the *British* Crown in a fair and open Field. The Scene of the Battle was a Moor, not far from *Inverness*, and nigh to a House belonging to the Lord President *Forbes*, called *Culloden* House, and from which the Battle took it's Name. We have had several Accounts of this important Action, but the clearest as well as most authentic

authentic is that dispatch'd by the Duke of Cumberland to the King his Father, dated from *Inverness*, April 18th; and to this I think it best to adhere. Neither *Ascanius*, nor any one of his Party, had any Opportunity, after the Fight, and during the Remainder of his Stay in *Scotland*, to draw up an Account of it; nor yet has he or his Friends thought proper to give the World this Satisfaction, though frequently solicited there-to at the Court of *Versailles*. Had the *Adventurers* publish'd any Account of the Battle of *Culloden*, the Reader may be assured that it would not have been omitted in this Narrative.

*Account of the Battle of Cul-
loden, drawn up by Order
of his Royal Highness the
Duke of Cumberland.*

“ WE gave our Men a Day's halt
“ at *Nairn*, and on the 16th
“ marched, between Four and Five, in
“ Four Columns. The three Lines of
“ Foot (reckoning the Reserve for one)
“ were broken into three from the Right,
“ which made three Columns equal,
“ and

“and each of five Battalions. The
 “Artillery and Baggage followed the
 “first Column on the Right, and the
 “Cavalry made the fourth Column on
 “the Left.

“After we had marched about eight
 “Miles, our advanced Guards (com-
 “posed of about forty of *Kingston’s*
 “Horse, and the *Highlanders*, led on
 “by the Quarter-Master General) per-
 “ceived the Rebels at some Distance
 “making a Motion towards us on the
 “Left; upon which we immediately
 “formed; but finding they were still a
 “good Way from us, and that the
 “whole Body did not come forward, we
 “put ourselves again upon our March
 “in our former Posture, and continued
 “it to within a Mile of them; and then
 “we formed again in the same Order
 “as before. After reconnoitring their
 “Situation, we found them posted be-
 “hind some old Walls and Huts in a
 “Line with *Culloden House*.

“As we thought our Right entirely
 “secure, General *Hawley* and General
 “*Bland* went to the Left with two Re-
 “giments of Dragoons, to endeavour
 “to fall upon the right Flank of the
 “Enemy, and *Kingston’s* Horse were
 “order’d to the Reserve. Ten Pieces

“ of

“ of Cannon were disposed two in each
 “ of the Intervals of the first Line, and
 “ all our *Highlanders* (except about one
 “ Hundred and Forty which were upon
 “ the Left with General *Hawley*, and
 “ who behaved extreamly well) were
 “ left to guard the Baggage.

“ When we were advanced within
 “ five hundred Yards of the *Rebels*,
 “ we found the Morass upon our Right
 “ was ended, which left our right Flank
 “ quite uncovered to them. His Royal
 “ Highness thereupon immediately or-
 “ der'd the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse
 “ from the Reserve, and a little Squa-
 “ dron of about sixty of *Cobham's* Horse
 “ which had been patrolling, to cover
 “ our Flank, and *Pulteney's* Regiment
 “ was also ordered from the Reserve to
 “ the Right of the Royals.

“ We spent about half an Hour after that,
 “ trying which should gain the Flank
 “ of the other; and in the mean time
 “ his Royal Highness sent Lord *Bury*
 “ (Son to the Earl of *Albemarle*) for-
 “ ward to within one hundred Yards of
 “ the Enemy, to reconnoitre somewhat
 “ that appeared to us like a Battery.
 “ On Lord *Bury's* Approach, the Ene-
 “ my immediately began firing their
 “ Cannon, which was extreamly ill-
 “ serv'd

“ served, and ill-pointed. Ours as im-
 “ mediately answered them, and with
 “ great Success, which began their Con-
 “ fusion. They then came running on
 “ in their wild Manner, and upon the
 “ Right where his Royal Highness had
 “ placed himself, imagining the great-
 “ est Push would be there; they came
 “ down three several Times within a
 “ hundred Yards of our Men, firing
 “ their Pistols and brandishing their
 “ Swords, but the Royals and *Pulteney’s*
 “ hardly took their Firelocks from their
 “ Shoulders each Time, before the E-
 “ nemy retreated, abash’d at the *Ha-*
 “ *vock* made among them by the Fire-
 “ Arms of the *English*; so that after
 “ these faint Attempts they made off,
 “ and the little Squadron on our Right
 “ was sent to pursue them.

“ Mean Time General *Hawley* had,
 “ by the Help of our *Highlanders*, beat
 “ down two little Stone-Walls, and
 “ came in upon the right Flank of the
 “ Enemies Line.

“ As their whole first Line came
 “ down to attack all at once, their
 “ Right somewhat out-flanked *Barrel’s*
 “ Regiment; which was our Left, and
 “ the greatest Part of the little Loss
 “ we sustain’d, was there. But *Bligh’s*
 “ and

“ and *Sempil's* giving a smart Fire upon
 “ those who had out-flanked *Barrel's*,
 “ soon repulsed them; and *Barrel's*
 “ Regiment, and the left of *Monroe's*
 “ fairly beat them with their Bayonets;
 “ there was scarce a Soldier or Officer
 “ of *Barrel's*, or that Part of *Monro's*
 “ which engaged, who did not kill one
 “ or two Men each with their Bayonets
 “ and Spontoons.

“ The Cavalry, which had charged
 “ from their Right and Left, met in the
 “ Center, except two Squadrons of
 “ Dragoons, which we missed, and they
 “ were gone in pursuit of the Runaways;
 “ Lord *Ancram* was order'd to pursue
 “ with the Horse, as far as he could;
 “ and he did it with so good Effect,
 “ that a very considerable Number were
 “ killed in the Pursuit.

“ As we were on our March to *In-*
 “ *verness*, and were near arrived there,
 “ Major General *Bland* sent a small
 “ Packet to his Royal Highness, con-
 “ taining the Terms of the Surrender
 “ of the *French* Officers and Soldiers
 “ whom he found there; which Terms
 “ were no other than to remain Priso-
 “ ners of War at Discretion. Major
 “ General *Bland* had also made great
 “ Slaughter, and had taken about fifty
 “ *French*

“ *French Officers and Soldiers Prisoners*
 “ *in the Pursuit.* By the best Calcula-
 “ *tion that can be yet made, ’tis thought*
 “ *the Rebels lost two thousand Men up-*
 “ *on the Field of Battle, and in the*
 “ *Pursuit.*”

I have omitted the Lists annexed to the above Account, as well for the sake of Brevity, as because they could not be very exact at that Time, but were afterwards much enlarged. Among the *French Prisoners* were Brigadier *Stapleton*, the Marquis *de Guilles*, (who acted as Embassador from the most Christian King to *Ascanius*) Lord *Lewis Drummond*, and above forty Officers more; who all remained Prisoners at large in the Town of *Inverness*, upon their Parole of Honour.

The Loss on the Side of the Victors was but inconsiderable. The only Persons of Note killed, were Lord *Robert Kerr*, Captain in *Barrel’s* Regiment; Captain *Grosset* of *Price’s*; Captain *John Campbell* of Lord *Loudon’s*; and and Captain *Colin Campbell* of the *Argyleshire* Militia: Besides these about fifty private Men were killed, and two hundred and fifty wounded.

The Number of the Prisoners taken by the *English* in this Signal Victory,
 was

was two Hundred and thirty *French*, and about four Hundred and forty *Scotch*, including a very few *English* of the adventring Party, who, unhappily for themselves, had continued in the Army of *Ascanius* till this fatal Day.

All the Artillery, Ammunition, and other military Stores of the *Adventurers*, together with twelve Colours, several Standards, and amongst them *Ascanius's* own, fell into the Hands of the Victors. The Earl of *Kilmarnock* was taken in the Action; Lord *Balmerino*, who at first was reported to be killed, was taken soon after by the *Grants*, and deliver'd up to the *English*. Four Ladies who had been very active in the Service of *Ascanius*, were likewise taken at *Inverness*, viz. Lady *Kinloch*, Lady *Ogilvie*, Lady *Mackintosh*, and Lady *Gordon*.

Immediately after the *Adventurers* had entirely quitted the Field, Brigadier *Mordaunt* was detach'd with nine hundred of the Volunteers into Lord *Loval's* Country, to reduce the *Frazers*, and all others who should be found in Arms there; and with the like View other Detachments were sent into the Estates of most of the Adventring Chiefs, which put it entirely out of *Ascanius's* Power afterwards to get together any

any considerable Number of Troops. In short, the *Adventurers* who escaped the Battle, were now necessitated to separate into small Parties, in order to shift the better for themselves.

The Earl of *Cromarty* was not at the Battle. This Lord had been order'd by *Ascanius* into his own Country, in order to raise Men and Money. But this Order proved fatal to the Earl, who almost at the very Instant when *Ascanius* was defeated at *Colloden*, was also taken by a small Party of Lord *Rea's* Men and a few others, who found Means to surprize his Lordship, and made both him and his Son, Captain *Macleod*, Prisoners, together with a great many other Officers of Distinction, and above one hundred and fifty private Men: They were all convey'd on board the *Hound* Sloop of War, and carried to *Inverness*.

That the Reader, whether *Englishman*, *Scotchman*, *Frenchman*, or of any other Nation, may know in what Light the *English* in general looked upon this important Event, I shall quote a Reflexion from a Writer, who, though a zealous Whig, has honestly and impartially sum'd up and repeated only what was about this Time remark'd in almost all

Com-

Companies, both publick and private.

“ Thus,” says he, “ the Flame of
 “ this Rebellion, which after being
 “ smother’d for a Time in *Scotland*,
 “ broke out at last with such Force, as
 “ to spread itself into *England*, and not
 “ without Reason alarmed even *London*
 “ itself, that great Metropolis, was in
 “ a short Space totally extinguished by
 “ him who gave the first Check to its
 “ Force ; and who perhaps alone was
 “ capable of performing this Service to
 “ his Country, his Father, and his
 “ King *. It is sufficiently known how
 “ great a Hazard the Person runs of
 “ displeasing him, who praises his Royal
 “ Highness ; but the Regard we owe
 “ to Truth, Justice, and the Publick,
 “ obliges one, on this Occasion, to de-
 “ clare that Providence particularly
 “ made use of him as its most proper
 “ Instrument in performing this Work.
 “ He it was who revived the Spirits of
 “ the People by the Magnanimity of his
 “ own Behaviour. He, without Severity,
 “ restored Discipline in the Army. He

* Quere whether this Author was aware how great a Compliment he, by this Expression, indirectly pays to *Africanus*.

“ prudently suspended his Career at
 “ *Aberdeen*, till the Troops recovered
 “ their Fatigue, and the Season opened
 “ a Road to Victory. He waited with
 “ Patience, chose with Discretion, and
 “ most happily and gloriously improved
 “ that Opportunity which blasted the
 “ Hopes of the *Rebels*, and has secured
 “ to us the present Possession and future
 “ Prospect of the wisest and best-framed
 “ Constitution, administred. by the
 “ gentlest and most indulgent Govern-
 “ ment *Europe* can boast.

Leaving the Reader to make his
 own Remarks on the foregoing quoted
 Reflection, I shall herewith conclude
 this History of the first Part of the *Ad-
 ventures* of *Ascanius*, and of that civil
 War the like of which God grant may
 never again happen in this Nation.





ASCANIUS:

OR, THE Young ADVENTURER.

BOOK II.

Containing a particular Account of all that happened to Ascanius, during his Wanderings in Scotland, from his memorable Defeat in April 1746, to his final Escape on the Nineteenth of September in the same Year.



OW many and various are the Turns; the Vicissitudes of Fortune, how capricious her Humour, how transient and changeable her Affections; her Frowns how dreadful, her Anger

Anger how implacable! The Man who Yesterday was her Favourite, is To-day the Object of her Contempt; she has him in Derision, and laughs at the Confidence he placed in her Smiles: His Disappointments, Grief and Despair are the Subjects of her Mockery and Ridicule; she triumphs in his Distress, and wantonly sports with his Ruin!

How dearly has the luckless *Ascanius* purchased her momentary Smiles, her short-lived Favours; how severely has he suffered for the Confidence he placed in the jilting Goddess! Enough already has the World heard of his Story to excite Compassion in the generous Breast, but still the greater Part remains untold. Such melancholy Truths are yet behind, as when exhibited to publick View, will raise a fresh supply of Pity, a Tribute justly due to such distinguish'd Sufferings. For who can see, what Christian, what generous hearted Man can behold even an Enemy in Distress, and not pity him, even tho' it be not the Beholder's Interest to relieve him?

When an unhappy Youth, whose ill-fated Circumstances have plunged him into a State of Dependance, is moved and impell'd by that Power to which he is subordinate, to embark in a rash, a

K

mad,

mad, and I may say an unjust Enterprize; and when, in Consequence of a Compliance which he could not refuse, we see him labouring under the most abject Human Misery, suffering all the Hardships a Man can (in the common Capacity of Human Nature) undergo on this Side the Grave; when we see him in such Distresses as rarely happen to Persons of high Rank, and tenderly educated, we cannot help being moved with Compassion for him, though at the same time we blame him for embarking in the Undertaking which caused his Misfortune, and perhaps curse the Hand that directed and plunged him into it!

Let not the over curious, the doubtful, the captious, with distrustful Inquisition, seek to know whence my Commission is derived, or how I learnt the sad Particulars. This is a Secret which Time alone, or some Event yet hid in her dark Womb will reveal, but I may not.

The World therefore must, for the present, be content with this Assurance, that *Truth* is here presented naked and undisguised by the least Garment borrowed from the plenteous Wardrobe of Fiction, without knowing the Hand that conducted her, or by what Means she

was

was prevailed with to make this Appearance: He that is obstinately doubtful, must have Patience till Time satisfy him, and to Time I refer him for a Confirmation of the Facts related as follows: Nor is *Truth* afraid to appeal to future and further Discoveries for a Sanction to the present.

When *Ascanius*, during the decisive Battle of *Culloden*, saw his Men begin to give Way before an Enemy they had hitherto vanquished with surprizing Ease and Facility, he instantly felt in his Mind a true Prefage of his entire Defeat, with all that Train of Horrors, Destruction, and Slaughter that ensued; yet he kept the Field till he saw that all was irrecoverably lost. His Post was in a Corps de reserve, behind the main Body, which he quitted not till his Horse had been killed under him, and himself wounded in the hinder Parts by a Carbine-shot. At length the Current of the flying Troops bore him along towards *Inverness*; but being closely followed, and hard press'd, he quitted the Road to the Town, and with a small Party cross'd the River about a Mile above it. This was the happiest Step he could have taken in this critical and dangerous Junction; for had he got into *Inverness*, he had

had certainly been there intercepted by the *English* Dragoons, who made many Prisoners, and slew a considerable Number of the Flyers in the Streets. But his Life was almost equally endangered by the Passage of the River, which he was obliged to ford on Foot, though the Water came up to his Neck, and it was with great Difficulty he stemmed the Force of the Stream, and maintained his Footing on the Ground beneath it.

Being got safe on the other Side, he ordered his Attendants to halt a Moment, while he took a short but melancholy Retrospect of the dreadful Scene behind him. The Face of the Country was overspread with the flying vanquish'd, and the pursuing Victors; the first ardently pressing forward for Life, the latter vigorously pushing after, and irresistably overwhelming the Hindmost of the unhappy Fugitives in a Deluge of Slaughter. Overcome with a lively Sense of what he saw, (the Ruin of his Friends and Followers, perishing in Multitudes for his Sake) and having also some Regard to his own Safety, as a Party of the Enemy advanced towards the Place where he crossed the River, the unfortunate *Ascanius* continued his Flight, and halted not 'till nine o'Clock at Night, when

when he arrived at *Aird*, a House belonging to the Lord *Lovat*, Chief of the *Frazers*, a numerous and warlike Clan in the Highlands: This Lord was a secret Well-wisher to *Ascanius*, in whose Army the Master of *Lovat* (eldest Son to his Lordship) had served, at the Head of about seven hundred of his Vassals.

Lord *Lovat* was at Home when *Ascanius* arrived, and receiv'd him with open Arms; procured a Surgeon to dress his Wound, which proved not very dangerous; condoled with him on the the Loss of the Battle, and endeavoured to inspire him with the Hopes of being soon able to recollect the scattered Remains of his Army, adding thereto a great Number of fresh Men, particularly the noble Clan of the *Macphersons*, who though in Arms for *Ascanius*, had not been in the Battle of *Culloden*. On his own Part, he offer'd to raise a fresh Supply of six hundred *Frazers*, whom he would order to rendezvous in the Shire of *Badenoch*.

Ascanius, sadly dispirited and fatigued, was scarce able to answer his Lordship.
 “ My Lord, (said he, faintly, and with
 “ Tears in his Eyes,) I am at present
 “ unable to determine what Course I
 “ ought to take. I believe I am abso-
 “ lutely ruin'd; enough are already
 “ ruin'd

“ ruin’d with me, and I am unwilling to
 “ draw any more innocent Men into the
 “ like Misfortunes. As to the Measures
 “ that are now most likely to contribute
 “ to the Good of the Common Cause,
 “ I must ask the Opinion of these Gen-
 “ tlemen.”

Having spoke these Words, he turned
 towards the Officers and Gentlemen who
 had accompanied him in his Flight, par-
 ticularly Lord *Elcho*, Mr. *Murray* of
Broughton, Secretary to *Ascanius*; Mr.
Sullivan and Mr. *Sheridan* : The two
 last landed with him when he first arrived
 in that Country.

Mr. *Sullivan* being a Stranger to the
 Country, declared himself incapable of
 judging what Course they ought to take ;
 but insisted, “ That if a much greater
 “ Force than he expected, could not be
 “ raised to stop the Progress of the Ene-
 “ my, *Ascanius* ought before all Things
 “ to take Care of his own Person ; and,
 “ if it should be found practicable, to
 “ return to the Continent, and reserve
 “ himself for a more favourable Oppor-
 “ tunity.”

To this Lord *Elcho* replied, “ I hope
 “ Matters are not become so desperate,
 “ as that the **** should think of leav-
 “ ing the Kingdom. I can’t think we
 “ have

“ have lost much above a thousand Men
 “ in this Day's Action, Prisoners in-
 “ cluded; if we can re-assemble the dis-
 “ persed Troops, (and that we shall I
 “ have not much Reason to fear) we may
 “ soon augment them to six thousand;
 “ and this by a Junction with my Lord
 “ of *Lovat's* proffered Reinforcements,
 “ the *Macphersons*, and the Earl of *Cro-*
 “ *martie's* People, with that Nobleman
 “ at their Head. And if to these we
 “ add.”—Here his Lordship was in-
 terrupted by Lord *Lovat*, who assur'd
 him that he had just received certain In-
 telligence of Lord *Cromartie's* being ta-
 ken, together with his Son, and about
 two hundred of his People.

However, Lord *Elcho* still continued
 to maintain his Opinion, viz. “ That
 “ *Ascanius* ought not to despair of being
 “ able to retrieve his Affairs without re-
 “ turning to the Continent.”

To this Mr. *Sullivan* started some Dif-
 ficulties and Objections, and was seconded
 by Mr. *Sheridan*. Mean time, the High-
 landers escaped from the Battle, were
 continually coming in, some having In-
 telligence that *Ascanius* had taken this
 Rout, and others not knowing whither
 to fly, happened this Way; but the Ma-
 jority of such as escaped the Slaughter,
 No. 6. L made

made off by other Roads. After Supper an Account was taken of the Number of those already come in, and they were found to be two hundred and twenty, Officers included.

And now a Debate arose on these three Points ; first, whether it would be proper for *Ascanius* to remain there all Night ; or, secondly, whether he might safely proceed to *Fort-Augustus*, with the People already come in, in order to re-establish a Force sufficient to keep the Field, or at least, for the present, to act on the defensive, and keep at a Bay ; or, thirdly, whether it would not be most conducive to the Safety of *Ascanius* that he should make off for *Badenoch*, as secretly, and with as much Expedition as possible, and there wait the Consequences of the Battle, which would best instruct him how to act, and whether to go over to the Continent by the first Opportunity, or try to retrieve his Affairs by staying in *Scotland*.

As to the first Point, it was unanimously pronounced very dangerous for *Ascanius* to remain at *Aird* all Night, as advanced Parties of the Enemy were upon the Scout on that Side *Inverness*, and might possibly have Intelligence of his having taken the Road towards *Fort-Augustus* ; nor was it thought adviseable for

for him to put himself at the Head of so large a Body as upwards of two hundred Men, which would very much retard his Motions, render his Retreats the more conspicuous, and perhaps occasion his falling into the Enemy's Hands.

Lord *Elcho* warmly continued to assert, " That if *Ascanius* was desirous of taking
 " such Measures as were, or should appear to be most likely to retrieve both
 " his Glory and Interest, he ought by
 " no means to think of separating from
 " the Remainder of his faithful Troops,
 " who could no longer be kept in Arms
 " than while they saw him at their Head,
 " nor could any fresh Levies be made
 " when *Ascanius* no longer appeared
 " in Person to animate and keep them
 " together."

Lord *Lovat* now said little, Mr. Secretary *Murray* absolutely held his Tongue, and *Ascanius* himself was entirely uncertain what Course to take. Mr. *Sheridan* * answered Lord *Elcho* with some Warmth, which ended in high Words between them, and the latter was

* This Gentleman had been Tutor to *Ascanius*, and attended him faithfully to the Day of his Death, which happened at *Rome*, within a few Weeks after the *Young Adventurer's* Escape out of *Scotland*.

reproached with having by his rash Advice, occasioned all the Misfortunes which had fallen upon *Ascanius*, and particularly the Loss of the fatal Battle of that Day, the Consequence of not defending the Passage of the *Spey*, which was chiefly owing to the Influence his Lordship had in the Council of War held at that Time, as hath before been observed.

Elcho was greatly chafed at the Freedom of Speech used by Mr. *Sheridan*, and the Dispute might have produced mischievous Effects, had not *Ascanius* interposed his Authority. “ Our Affairs
 “ (said he) are bad enough already, let
 “ us not make them worse by Dissentions
 “ and Animosities among ourselves. My
 “ Lord *Elcho* I know is zealous for my
 “ Honour and Interest, and speaks what
 “ he sincerely thinks will probably be
 “ most conducive to both. I am also
 “ equally satisfied of the good Intentions
 “ of the Gentlemen who differ from his
 “ Lordship; and I earnestly desire, as
 “ you value my Safety, that you will
 “ preserve that Harmony among your-
 “ selves which hath been hitherto main-
 “ tained, and without which there can
 “ be no Hopes of retrieving past Misfor-
 “ tunes. For my own Part, I at present
 “ despair of getting together such a
 “ Force

“ Force as it may be presumed will be
 “ able to make an effectual Stand against
 “ the Parties of the Enemy, which
 “ will doubtless be sent into all Parts
 “ of the Country, and of which
 “ perhaps some are now approaching
 “ this Place. I think we had better not
 “ trust ourselves openly with a small
 “ Body, which will only invite the Ene-
 “ my to fall upon and overwhelm us at
 “ once. Rather let us separate, take
 “ different Routs, and severally collect
 “ what Men we can, ordering them to
 “ repair, in the most private Manner,
 “ to a Rendezvous which may be ap-
 “ pointed. Mean time I shall endeavour
 “ to escape the Enemy’s Notice, by such
 “ Means as Providence shall put into
 “ my Power; and my Opinion is, that
 “ not above three Persons should march
 “ with me towards *Fort Augustus*: but
 “ this I leave to the Judgment of those
 “ who best know the Country.”

Most of the Officers and Gentlemen
 present immediately giving into the Opi-
 nion of *Ascanius*, the People were order’d
 to march into *Lochabar*; and when all
 except Lord *Elcho*, Messieurs *Sheridan*
 and *Sullivan*, Mr. *Cameron*, commonly
 called *Lockiel* the younger, and five
 others were gone, it was determined

that Lord *Elcho* and Mr. *Cameron*, tho' the latter was dangerously wounded in the Foot, should march towards *Fort-Augustus*, at the Distance of a Mile before *Ascanius*, that in case of any Interruption, they might send one or both their Servants (for each of them had one) back to give the young * * * * Notice of the Danger. The five others were ordered to set out from *Aird* about an Hour after *Ascanius*, that they, or at least some one of them, all being well mounted, might push forward to give him Information of any Danger in his Rear, (*i. e.*) any Detachment of the Enemy that might possibly be coming from *Inverness* or that Way. Thus far being settled, betwixt eleven and twelve o'Clock *Ascanius* set out on Horseback, attended only by Mess. *Sheridan* and *Sullivan*, Lord *Elcho* and *Lochiel* being gone about half an Hour before.

As for the People ordered into *Lochabar*, few of them got thither, many being taken by, and others voluntarily surrendering to, the Duke of *Cumberland's* Troops.

I shall not take upon me to judge whether *Ascanius*, in taking this Course, took the best in his Power: Whether Lord *Elcho's* Advice ought to have been followed

followed or not. But this much is certainly apparent, viz. That though the young *Adventurer*, and the Chiefs of his Party who entirely got clear of the Enemy, used their utmost Endeavours to collect a Force sufficient to act at least on the Defensive, in case *Ascanius* should think proper to put himself at their Head, yet they found it absolutely impracticable: And this perhaps was in some Measure owing to his not appearing publickly with those few Forces which his Friends did for some Time keep together, and which as a Magnet, would very probably have drawn much greater Numbers to him.

As for Lord *Lovat*, thinking himself, and his proffered Supply of Men somewhat slightly neglected; and being also conscious that after what had pass'd it would be no longer safe for him to remain in *Scotland*, he began to take Measures for his Escape into *France*; which, however he had not the good Fortune to effect, but fell into the Hands of those who sent him to *London*, where at present he is a Prisoner, and 'tis generally thought will hardly escape the Fate of the Lords *Kilmarnock* and *Balmerino*.

Returning from the above Digression, let us follow the flying and desponding

Ascanius, now directing his Course towards the dreary Wilds of *Glenatry*.

About three o'Clock in the Morning after the Battle, he arrived at *Fort-Augustus*, where, to his great Surprise, he found his faithful *Lochiel*, alone, and waiting there for him.

" *Elcha* (said *Lochiel* to *Ascanius*) is gone off, highly disgusted at the little Regard paid to his Advice, and at the Reproaches cast on him by Mr. *Sheridan*. He told me at parting that though *Ascanius* was running headlong to Destruction, it was not his indispensable Duty to do so too, nor to sacrifice his Life to the ill-judged Councils of others; who (said he) in my Opinion are neither more able or willing to render his R—— H—— all possible Service than myself: And therefore I am resolved to provide for my own Safety; at least till my Services may be more acceptable; but I sincerely wish (though alas! I have small Hopes) that they may never be wanted.

" This (continued *Lochiel*) his Lordship desired me to repeat faithfully to your R—— H——, and I have fulfilled his Request, but at the same Time do solemnly declare, that I entirely

“ tirely disapprove both the Sentiments
 “ and Conduct of Lord *Elcho*.”

Ascanius was extremely chagrined on finding himself abandoned by the valiant *Elcho*, of whose Fidelity and Capacity, as a Soldier and General, he ever had an high Esteem. But in Truth that Lord was always too tenacious of his own Opinion, and apt to be irreconcilably disgusted with those who differed from him in their Sentiments and Apprehensions of Things. And herein he bears a near Resemblance with the Duke of *Perth*, with whom he maintained a strict Friendship.

As *Fort-Augustus* had, before the Battle, been demolished by the *Adventurers*, and as there was neither Garrison nor Provisions now there, *Ascanius* proceeded along the great Road towards *Fort-William*, taking the wounded Mr. *Cameron* along with him. At Noon they arrived at *Invergary*, where they hoped to find something for Dinner, their Spirits beginning to droop for want of Sustenance. But all was here desolate and confused, having been so ever since the taking of *Fort-Augustus*, and the fruitless Siege of *Fort-William*. Provisions were as scarce here as Water in the *Lybian* Deserts, and pinching
 Hunger

Hunger had been the *young Adventurer's* Companion during the Remainder of this Day, had not a Fisherman, allured by the Prospect of extraordinary Gain, employed all his Skill, and by good Fortune speedily procured *Ascanius* and his Attendants a delicious Repast from the Liquid Element. They found it, however, more difficult to get their Salmon dress'd than catch'd. But at length it was agreed to slice and broil it, which they did, tho' with no small Trouble, upon a Turff-Fire, *Ascanius* himself, and Mr. *Sullivan* being Cooks in chief.

After Dinner *Ascanius* waited two Hours, though in vain, for the five Gentlemen who were appointed to follow him from *Aird*; he also hoped to gain some Intelligence of such of his Followers, especially the Chiefs, as, escaping the Battle of *Culloden*, might happen to take this Rout. At length, tired with waiting, the dejected *young Adventurer* was about to take Horse, when a Man well mounted, gallop'd towards him, and upon his near Approach was known to be the gallant *Macdonald*, one of the five aforementioned and who had been a Domestick of the F——'s. He appeared to be half

half dead, and hardly able to keep his Seat on the Horse; and the Beast was likewise all over frothed with Sweat. Affaying to dismount before he delivered his Intelligence, he found himself unable, and before any one could lend him a helping Hand, he fell from the Saddle to the Ground, and a heart-breaking Groan sufficiently spoke the Anguish which he felt, and how much he was hurt by his Fall. Evident Symptoms of the speedy Approach of Death now appeared in his Face, and he had hardly Time to tell his astonished Master, “ that being with the other four
 “ overtaken on the East Side of *Fort-*
 “ *Augustus* by a Party of the *Argyll-*
 “ *shire Campbells*, by whom his Com-
 “ panions were taken, he trusted to the
 “ Goodness of his Horse for his Escape,
 “ and thereby had the Happiness of
 “ dying at his Master’s Feet; that the
 “ Militia Men followed him to the
 “ other Side of *Fort-Augustus*, and had
 “ wounded him in the Back with their
 “ Pistol-shot. That he soon perceiv’d
 “ his Wounds were mortal, and then
 “ all that he hoped or wished for, was
 “ to see his beloved Master before he
 “ died.” All this he spoke in broken Sentences, while every Word was followed

lowed by Groans and painful Ejulations ; and all he had Time to add to what is above repeated, was, “ I beg
 “ your * * * * * to fly for your
 “ Life, for the Enemy are by this Time
 “ at *Fort-Augustus*. ” — And with that the faithful *Macdonald*, according to his Wish, breathed out his l y l Soul at his Master's Feet.

Ascanius was the more troubled at the Fate of this trusty Domestick, as his Death was obviously precipitated by his Fall from his Horse, which might easily have been prevented had his Condition been known before he offered to dismount ; and besides it was uncertain whether he might not have lived, had he escaped this last Accident. After shedding a few Tears on the cold Corpse of the unfortunate *Macdonald*, *Ascanius* departed, (all gloomy and dejected) from *Invergary* ; and as he posted across the Country, he gratified the melancholy Turn his once gay and sprightly Thoughts had taken, with Reflections on the dismal Scenes of complicated Tragedy, in which he had so lately acted a great but mortifying Part. But now another Object attracted his Tenderness and Compassion. This was his distinguished Favourite, the wounded *Lockiel* who

who was no longer able to travel. " How
 " wretched am I (said he,) to be thus
 " forced to abandon my *****, whom
 " I should think it my greatest Felicity
 " to attend to the utmost Extremity of
 " the Globe, and gladly share with him
 " the greatest Adversity. For the R***
 " *Ascanius* I have renounced, and freely
 " would for ever renounce every Thing
 " dear to me in this World. But alas!
 " my treacherous Limbs desert my stea-
 " dier Soul ; my Wound bears hard
 " upon me, and my exhausted Spirits
 " no longer second the Resolution of a
 " Heart for ever yours ; and which
 " shall still accompany you with its best
 " Wishes, though my disabled Body
 " stay behind. Whether Death or
 " Captivity will be my Lot, Heaven
 " only knows, but with my last Breath
 " I will pray for my * * * * * Safety,
 " and that he may yet overcome all his
 " Enemies. But I am not without
 " Hopes that Providence will prolong
 " and secure to me both Life and Li-
 " berty. Perhaps I may again see your
 " * * * * *, and if I recover my
 " Health, and the Use of my Limbs,
 " may still render you some little Ser-
 " vice ; I say little, for alas ! great
 " Things

“ Things can no longer be expected
 “ here.”

Grievous was it to the grateful *Ascanius* to leave the brave and faithful *Lochiel* behind; and the more so in Regard to the dangerous, the desperate Situation that w-r—y Man must be left in. No Surgeon near to dress his Wound, no Shelter to screen him from the Rage of the victorious and exasperated Enemy. But *Lochiel*, whose Concern for the young *Adventurer* engrossed all his Fears, prevented *Ascanius* from wasting any Time in fruitless Lamentations, and those little Delays usual between tender Friends on so melancholy a Parting. “ Fly my dear *****,”
 “ (said he) take Care of yourself, and
 “ leave your faithful *Lochiel* to the Pro-
 “ tection of Providence. North of
 “ this Place, and within a Mile, lives
 “ an honest Peasant, who was my Fa-
 “ ther’s Servant; with him I doubt not
 “ to find an Assylum, and he may also
 “ have it in his Power to procure me a
 “ Surgeon; to his friendly Hut my
 “ Servant may see me safe, and in the
 “ mean Time may Heaven protect
 “ the g—— and g—— *Ascanius*.”

And now *Ascanius*, with a heavy Heart, continued his Flight, and be-
 fore

fore the Break of the ensuing Morning he arrived at *Lochbarrige*; where, by the united Perswasions of his two constant Attendants, *Sherriadan* and *Sullivan*, he went to Sleep, which neither he nor they had done for five Days and Nights; but now, though indefatigable their Activity, Nature oppressed, harass'd and wearied out with Care and Fatigue, obliged them to take this necessary Refreshment. *Ascanius* did not awake 'till Afternoon, when he dined on what could be got in that poor Country. He afterwards waited there till Night, in hopes of gaining some Intelligence of the Measures taken by his Friends after their Defeat, and of what Strength they had left; but receiving none, he resolved to depart for the *Glens* of *Morar*. Accordingly he set out on Foot, the Horse-Roads being not only much round about but so bad that it was thought most adviseable to leave their Beasts behind them. On the Nineteenth, about Day-break, they arrived at the *Glens* of *Morar*, but neither could any Intelligence be got here. From hence they departed the same Day for *Arifaig*, and got into that Country in the Evening, but found none of their Associates there. However *Ascanius* was gladly received
by

by the Country Chiefs, the People here being in general well affected to his Cause. From hence Mr. *Sheridan*, in Disguise, was dispatched into the Neighbourhood of *Fort-William*; and from thence, if he found it necessary and practicable, he had Directions to pass into the County of *Ross*, in order to get all the Intelligence possible; for great Part of the Remains of the young *Adventurer's* routed Army had fled that Way. Mean time it was agreed that *Ascanius*, with Mr. *Sullivan*, should stay in *Arisaig*, or if they could not safely remain there 'till Mr. *Sheridan's* Return, or the Arrival of a Message from him, to leave Advice of the Place to which they removed.

Ascanius now believing himself out of Danger, was the less impatient of Mr. *Sheridan's* Return, for which he waited there seven Days. During this Interval he frequently amused himself with Observations on the Manners, Customs, and uncivilized Way of living of the Country People; with writing Memorandums, and Remarks on his Affairs, and the Vicissitudes he had seen in the *British* Island; with the Conversation of the venerable Mr. *Archibald Macdonald* of *Barrisdale*, who frequently
visited

visited him; and with the Diversion of Fishing, of which he was extreamly fond; and here also he was joined by a Troop of the warlike *Camerons*, the Vassals of his beloved *Lochiel*, whom they expected to find in these Parts, having heard that he had been at *Fort-Augustus*. April 27th he was joined by Captain *O'Neil* *, who had escaped from the Battle, and had lain some Days concealed at *Inverary*, where, on the twenty third he met with Mr. *Sheridan*, by whom he was directed to the young *Adventurer*. *O'Neil* informed *Africanus* that the Lord *Kilmarnock* was the only Person of Distinction taken in the Battle; but that the Earl of *Cromartie* with his Son, and above one hundred of his People, were taken the Day before, as was the Lord *Balmerino* the Day after the Battle; that the Duke of *Perth*, with his Brother the Lord *John Drummond*, were got into *Lochabar*, attended only by their Servants; having order'd the *French* Forces, which the latter commanded, to surrender to the Enemy; that most of the other Chiefs had acted much in the same Manner, every one shifting for himself, and or-

* An Officer in the Service of the King of France, in whose Dominions the Captain was born:

dering the Clans and others, under their Command, to do so too. — “ Alas !
 “ quoth *Ascanius*, is this the boasted
 “ Loyalty and Constancy of the *Scots* ;
 “ are they so terribly disheartened by
 “ one Defeat ? Since it is so, it behoves
 “ us likewise to provide for our own
 “ Safety by leaving this ungrateful Coun-
 “ try. — But what (continued *Asca-*
 “ *nus*) is our Loss at *Culloden* reported
 “ to amount to ? ” Above five Hundred
slain on the Field, replied the Captain,
and twice that Number in the Pursuit.

“ O Heavens ! cried *Ascanius*, is it
 “ possible that the *English* could take
 “ so severe a Revenge ? — What ! Did
 “ my poor Men refuse Quarter ? ”

Quarter, answer'd the Captain, *was at*
first denied them ; they craved it, but in
vain : The Duke's People, exasperated
against us to an uncommon Degree, sacrificed
every Man that could not fly beyond the
Reach of their Fury, till their Officers put
a Stop to the Pursuit. It seems they were
animated and provoked to this by a Report
which prevailed among them, that your
 *** *, over confident of Victory, had before*
the Battle given Orders to your Troops not
to spare a Man of the Enemy, but to
refuse Quarter to all without Distinction.
This being industriously propagated among
them

them, inspired them with the fatal Resolution of retalliating this supposed Severity upon us: This contributed greatly to the dreadful Havock and Slaughter which followed our Defeat: However at length their Hearts relented, and they spared the Lives of betwixt four and five hundred Prisoners; though alas! but few of these may perhaps escape the Severity of the English Laws.

“ O my God! replied *Ascanius*, What’s
 “ this I hear? How monstrous! how
 “ base was it to charge me with so much
 “ Folly and Cruelty? Who could be
 “ the Author of so v—— a Report?
 “ C—b—l—d is I am sure too brave. I do
 “ not think him capable of any Thing
 “ so mean, so inconsistent with true Cou-
 “ rage and Bravery; of both which, if
 “ common Fame may be believed, he
 “ has too great a Share to have recourse
 “ to such unfoldierly, such inhuman
 “ Arts and Means of Revenge. No!
 “ the cursed Scandal, the black Asper-
 “ sion, the bloody Stratagem took its
 “ Rise from some abandoned Profligate,
 “ whose Station and whose Soul are
 “ Strangers to every Thing more just
 “ or honourable than the meanest Sut-
 “ ler’s.”

After some further Discourse upon this melancholy Subject, O’Neil assured *As-*

canius that he must not expect to re-assemble any considerable Number of his Forces in a Body, or to raise many fresh Troops among the *Highlanders*, who were now dispersed past all Possibility of rallying. Hereupon the young *Adventurer* determined to look out for a Ship to carry himself, and such of his Adherents as were at present with him, over to *France*. Among these was *Donald Macleod*, a trusty Highlander, and a Man of Consequence in that Country: Him *Ascanius* employed to hire a Vessel to convey them to *Stornway*, where they hoped to find some *French* Ship, or at least gain some Intelligence of one, several Vessels of that Nation having been for some Time expected at *Stornway*, or thereabouts.

Accordingly *Macleod* found Means to procure an eight-oar'd Boat, and on the 28th of *April*, he conducted *Ascanius*, with his faithful *Sullivan* and Captain *O'Neil* on board. With the rest of the People whom the young *Adventurer* had by this Time gathered about him, a Promise was left of sending for them as soon as a Ship could be secured.

The Boat's Crew being ordered to make all possible Haste to *Stornway*, plied their Oars lustily; but the approaching Night threatening them with
very

very bad Weather, they began to repent of what they had taken in hand, and at length plainly told their Passengers that it would be dangerous to proceed, and begged Leave to put back. But *Ascanius*, whose fearless Soul was not to be moved with distant Prospects of uncertain Danger, would by no means consent to this. However the Night proving terribly tempestuous, all in the Boat, except the *young Adventurer* alone, were for returning, and joined in entreating his Consent to it: And happy had it been for him had he complied; for on the very next Day two *French* Men of War came to *Arifaig* with Stores and Money for his Service; and as these Ships had the good Fortune to return in Safety to *France*, he had afterwards but too much Reason to regret the missing of that Opportunity for escaping thither. But as neither he nor those about him did know, or possibly could know, before-hand, of the Arrival of these Vessels; and as *Mr. Macleod* had declared that he had a great Interest at *Stornway*, and could speedily procure a Ship there, *Ascanius* was certainly in the right to proceed for the Place where he had a Prospect of finding the Means of extricating himself out of his present disagreeable Situation. And, besides,

well

well might he think it beneath him to fly the Dangers of the Deep, and the Threats of a Tempest, for the sake of a wretched Life spent in wandering about like a Vagabond, or perhaps, lingered away amidst the Gloom and Horrors of a Prison ; for he was well assured that though he should fall into the Enemy's Hands, they would not, nor durst not take away his Life, so long as the Power of *France* was capable of making an irresistible Interposition in his Favour.

As the Night advanced, the Tempest increased, and the Water, catching the Rage of the Winds, foamed horrible, and every Moment threatned the affrighted Boatmen with a dreadful Voyage to the Regions of Death. To heighten their Distress, the Weather was so excessive cold, that the poor Fellows lost, at least for the present, the Use of their Hands, were unable to manage their Oars, and therefore were forced to abandon the Boat to the Mercy of the Waves, and she was arbitrarily driven to and fro, seeming every Moment on the Point of subsiding beneath the high and rolling Billows.

To lessen their Danger, as far as lay in their Power, *Ascanius* and his three principal

cipal Attendants became Rowers in their Turns, and laboured as long as they were able. The Chearfulness and Serenity of the *young Adventurer*, in this distressful Juncture, his Resignation to the Will of Heaven, and at the same time his Resolution, his prudent Endeavours, and the Industry with which he labour'd, all conspired to re-animate the frozen, the desponding Boatman: Again they apply themselves to their Oars, while *Ascanius* and the three wearied Gentlemen rest themselves: But alas! the Violence of the unrelenting Storm again incapacitates them, their Bodies are benumbed, and their Spirits fail. At length *Ascanius*, who was now become well acquainted with the Genius and Humours of the Highlanders, began to ridicule their Fears, made light of the Danger they were in, and to divert their Apprehensions, he sung them several Songs, particularly one in their own Language, and Mr. *Sullivan*, the Captain, and Mr. *McLeod* join'd in the Chorus; and, in short, the Whim succeeded to the *young Adventurer's* Wish, the Men being extremely pleased, and laboured to Admiration, while their politic, and seemingly merry Passenger, lull'd asleep both their Fears and Fatigues.

And

And now the Morning approach'd, bringing in the wish'd for Day-light. But still the Weather continued bad, and indeed grew worse and worse: However about eight o'clock they were happily driven ashore in one of the *Scotch* Islands called *Benbicula*, in which the famous Mr. *Macdonald* of *Clanronald* has a good Estate: They landed on a Point of Land called *Rushness*, which is well known to all who are acquainted with this and the circumjacent little Isles. Though in any better Circumstances they would have thought it a Misfortune to be thus driven wide of the Place they intended for, yet considering the Dangers they had past, they rejoiced to find themselves alive and on Land; and congratulated each other, returning Thanks to Heaven for the Mercy shewn them. Which done, Mr. *Sullivan* rallied *Ascanius* on his forgetting his Prayers, while in distress, and singing heathen Songs, instead of Christian Hymns.

The Wind still continuing to blow excessive cold, and the Men being almost starved to Death, Mr. *M'Leod* went about with some of them to look for Wood, which having procured, *Ascanius* employed himself in making a Fire, at which they all warm'd themselves, and

com-

forted their Hearts with a Glass of Brandy; but not a Bit of Victuals, had they, nor knew where to procure any. In this Situation they remained some Hours, till at last they took the Resolution of venturing further into the Country, though the Inhabitants were not to be relied on.

Towards the Evening they arrived at a few Huts, from which the Inhabitants fled on their Approach. In one of these they remained all Night, and feasted on a young Colt, the only Animal they could procure for Food, and which they cut to pieces and broil'd: *Ascanius* fed heartily, and every one was pleased with his Supper, having the most delicious Sauce in the World, an exceeding sharp Stomach.

As for Sleep, only the Boat-men took any that Night, *Ascanius* and his three Friends, mindful of their present dangerous Situation, and distrustful of the Country People, never closed their Eyes, but kept strict Watch 'till the next Morning: When finding the Weather more favourable, they prepared to march further into the Country, in hopes of persuading the People to furnish them with Provisions at any Price, to serve them in case any Accident should pre-

vent their getting to *Stornway* before the End of the next Day.

They succeeded amongst the Country People even beyond Expectation: Pretending to be Merchants who had suffer'd Shipwreck in their Voyage to the *Orkneys*, and offering to pay largely for what Provisions they should receive, the Islanders furnished them with dry'd Fish, Brandy, and some Bread, or rather Cakes made of Oatmeal, and baked on a Grid-dle; but this last being sour, *Ascanius* could not eat: Mr. *M'Leod* informed the young *Adventurer* that this Oaten-Cake was made sour when new, for otherwise the *Scots* could not eat it.

Having paid generously for what they had, and particularly for the Colt before-mention'd, they reimbarked the same Evening, being the 30th of *April*, and set sail again for *Stornway*, but meeting with another Tempest they were obliged to put into an Island called *Scalpa*, on which they landed and went to a Farmer's House, passing, as before at *Ben-bicula*, for Ship-wreck'd Merchants Mr. *Sullivan* went under the Name of *St. Clair*, the young *Adventurer* pass'd for his Son, Mr. *M'Leod* for the Ship-Captain, and Captain *O'Neil* for a Passenger.

The Weather continuing very bad during

during the rest of the Night and all the next Day, *Ascanius* determined to remain here till the Return of a Messenger which Mr. *McLeod* had now sent to *Stornway*, with Directions to his Brother there to hire a Vessel for *France*.

Mean Time the young *Adventurer* and his Attendants were hospitably entertained by the generous *Islander*, (the Farmer above-mentioned) who did not expect any other Recompence than the constant Reward of virtuous Men, viz. the *Pleasure* that arises from reflecting upon good Actions done, amongst which that of succouring the *Distrest* is surely one of the Noblest !

Here, *May* the Third, he heard, from the Mouth of publick Report, that himself, with Mr. *Sullivan*, Mr. *Sberridan*, Lord *Elcho*, the Duke of *Perth*, the Lord *John Drummond* Brother to the Duke, and several others who had escaped the Defeat at *Culloden*, were at *Loch-Nanaugh* in *Arisaig*, where two *French* Men of War lay ready to take them on board, as soon as some other Chiefs whom they waited for should also arrive there.

This News threw *Ascanius* into great Perplexity. As much of it as related to him,

himself, and Mr. *Sullivan* he knew to be false, but as to the rest he doubted not its Truth. He imagin'd that Mr. *Sheridan* had brought the Duke of *Perth* and the others into *Arisaig*, in hopes of finding him (*Ascanius*) there, either on Land with Mr. *McDonald* of *Barrisdale*, or safe on board one of the Men of War; and that not meeting with him there, they deferr'd to go on board, in expectation of finding him. As to the Rumour of his actually being there, he accounted for that as what People might reasonably imagine, because he was not *known* to be any where else, and had probably been seen on that Coast by some Body that knew him.

In short, not doubting but that his Gueesses were right, as indeed they were, he became very uneasy, and wish'd himself at *Loch Nanaugh*, but how to get thither safely and speedily was the Question?

Mr. *Sullivan*, whose Opinion was ever decisive with *Ascanius*, objected, ' That Reports were not lightly to be credited, ' nor this especially, as his (*the young Adventurer's*) Presence there gave one ' Part of it the lie. That neither the ' *French* Ships nor the Chiefs said to be ' in *Arisaig* might be there; or if they
: had

‘ had been there, might be gone before
 ‘ *Ascanius* could join them : That if this
 ‘ should be the Case, the * * * * *
 ‘ would run too great a Hazard by go-
 ‘ ing in quest of the *French* Men of War,
 ‘ and might perhaps ruin himself instead
 ‘ of finding them : It being (added he) dif-
 ‘ ficult to judge, whether we have most
 ‘ to fear from the Enemy on the Land,
 ‘ or on the Water, or from the natural
 ‘ Dangers of the Sea, and the adverse
 ‘ Disposition of the Weather.’

In answer to the above, *Ascanius* re-
 plied, ‘ I have foreseen Mr. *Sullivan’s*
 ‘ Objections, and I cannot but allow them
 ‘ their just Weight ; but who knows what
 ‘ Mr. *Sheridan* may have transacted for
 ‘ us ?—— perhaps our Affairs in *Scot-*
 ‘ *land* are not in so desperate a Condition
 ‘ as we imagine. It may be unnecessary
 ‘ for us to return to *France* ; and by
 ‘ taking such a Step rashly, we certainly
 ‘ shall do ourselves an irretrievable Pre-
 ‘ judice : Besides, we are not, I believe,
 ‘ sure of procuring a Ship at *Stornway*,
 ‘ if ever we get thither ourselves : But
 ‘ supposing we do get thither in Safety,
 ‘ how shall we proceed then, seeing we
 ‘ have no Interest at that Place, exclusive
 ‘ of Mr. *M’Leod’s* ? Is there not some

N 2

‘ Danger

‘ Danger of our falling into the Enemy’s
 ‘ Hands by going to *Stornway* ?

To this Mr. *M’Leod* replied, ‘ There
 ‘ can no Danger attend our going to
 ‘ *Stornway*. I doubt not but my Brother
 ‘ will have secured us a Vessel by the
 ‘ Time we get thither ; but if not, we
 ‘ may lie undiscover’d ’till one can be
 ‘ got ; or if *Ascanius* should be known
 ‘ by any Person there, (which, however,
 ‘ I don’t at all apprehend) and if any
 ‘ Attempt should be made upon his Per-
 ‘ son, I am sure of raising Friends enough
 ‘ to oppose Force to Force.’

Hereupon *Ascanius* declared he would
 go to *Stornway*, if Mr. *M’Leod* should
 hear from his Brother that Night, or,
 otherwise, he thought it most adviseable
 to depart for *Arifaig* the next Day.
 However about Midnight the Messenger
 returned from *Stornway*, with a Letter
 from Mr. *James M’Leod* of that Place to
 his Brother *Donald*, informing him, that a
 Ship was ready according to his Desire.

Capt. *O’Neil* was so transported with
 this good News, that he fell on his Knees,
 and gave Thanks to Heaven for their ap-
 proaching Deliverance. Continuing in
 the same Posture, he begged to kiss the
young Adventurer’s Hand, and congrat-
 ulated him on the fair Prospect he now
 had

had of escaping the many Dangers that furrounded him. ' I thank you, noble Captain, replied *Ascanius*, for the Part you take in my Interest and Safety ; but we must not be too confident ; we are not yet at *Stornway* ; we are not yet on board the Ship ; we are not yet past all Danger from the Enemy's Men of War and Privateers : In short, let us remember that *many Things may happen between the Cup and the Lip* : 'Till we are safe landed in *France*, let us not think the Danger past, nor the Storms of our Adversity blown over. — Let us depart for *Stornway*, but let us be prepared for fresh Disappointments, and new Disasters, and then if they come, they will fall the lighter on us.'

And now, (*May* the 4th, about four o'Clock in the Morning) our wandering Prince of *Troy**, and his Followers, set out from *Scalpa* for *Stornway*, but not 'till they had first handsomely and liberally rewarded their kind Host, the Farmer, who was with great Difficulty persuaded to accept of any Gratuity. Mr. *Donald M'Leod* had brought Money enough with him, nor did *Ascanius* and Mr. *Sullivan* travel with empty Pockets.

* Alluding to his Name *Ascanius*, so called from *Ascanius*, Son to the famous *Trojan* Prince *Aeneas*.

In the Evening of the next Day they arrived at *Stornway*, where they found *James M'Leod*, who had imprudently revealed to a pretended Friend that he had hired a Ship to carry the young *Adventurer* over to *France*. It was at some Distance from the Town that *James M'Leod* met *Ascanius*, whom he had never before seen, but whom nevertheless he knew by the Dignity of his Mien and Aspect, tho' disguised in a common Highland Dress. On Sight of the young *Adventurer*, the confused *M'Leod* fell down on his Knees at the Distance of an hundred Yards, and with uplift Hands and dejected Countenance cried out, *Alas! my *** how shall I pay my Duty*—He would have said more, but was in such Confusion that he knew not how to express himself, remaining in the same Posture 'till his Brother *Donald*, amaz'd and mistrusting some unlucky Accident, roused him, and soon learnt what had happened. In short, *James M'Leod's* Friend had maliciously divulged the Secret, adding this Circumstance to the Truth, viz. That *Ascanius* was coming to *Stornway* with five hundred Men, and intended to plunder and burn the Town before he embark'd : (This was the more readily believed, as the

the Inhabitants had expressed no great Affection to him on several Occasions.) Hereupon the Country-People had taken the Alarm, and above two hundred Men were in Arms at *Stornway*.—In fine, *Ascanius* found he must not enter the Town, and as there was no other Way of coming at the Ship, they were under the Necessity of lying all Night on the Moor, or returning immediately by the Way they came: Indeed if they could have got at the Ship, they had only been in a worse Case, for the Town's People had seized her.

Donald M'Leod was so enraged at his Brother, that drawing his Sword he had certainly killed him on the Spot, but *Ascanius* interposed and saved him. But who can describe, what Words can express the Amazement, Grief, Resentment, and Despair of poor Captain *O'Neil*, who had so confidently flatter'd himself that *Ascanius* was on the Point of being rescued from his present perilous Condition? The young *Adventurer* alone seemed undejected and unconcerned at this new Misfortune. ' You see Captain, (says ' he,) that I have the Spirit of Prophecy; at least if I foresaw not what has ' happened, my Heart secretly foreboded ' a fresh Disappointment. But let us not ' despair

' despair yet: We Mortals 'are short-
 ' fought, and see not the Ways of Pro-
 ' vidence. Our Understandings are too
 ' weak to penetrate its all-wise Designs.
 ' That gracious Being who hath hitherto
 ' screened me from the Fury of my Ene-
 ' mies, can still protect and hide me from
 ' their most vigilant and careful Inquiries.
 ' Perhaps by missing of this Ship I have
 ' escaped my Ruin, she may be de-
 ' stined speedily to be burnt, sunk, or
 ' taken, while a better Opportunity is
 ' reserved for me; and though a late, a
 ' sure Deliverance may come at last.'

The Night advancing, and not know-
 ing whither to go, or how to dispose of
 themselves with good Assurance of Safe-
 ty till Morning, *Ascanius*, Mr. *Sulli-*
van, the Captain, and the Boat's Crew
 at last determined to lie all Night on
 the Moor. As for the two *M'Leods*,
 it was resolved that they should go into
 the Town, and return before Mid-
 night, with a fresh Supply of Provi-
 sions: But, whatever the Reason was,
 they did not return.

Having waited in vain 'till after Mid-
 night, and beginning to suspect that
 something had happened to prevent the
M'Leods Return, *Ascanius* and his Fol-
 lowers had recourse to a little mouldy
 Biscuit

Biscuit and some Brandy, which was all they had left to satisfy their Hunger, and sustain their Spirits. Mean time the Wind blew excessive Cold, the Rain descended, and they had no other Shelter than the dark inclement Sky, no other Bed than the hard, cold and wet Earth. In this uncomfortable Situation they chose rather to walk about all Night, than to lie down, but they durst not remove far from the Spot they had first fixed on, fearing to lose it, and perhaps ramble among the Country People, with whom they did not care to venture themselves. At last the tedious Night begun to disappear, and a milder Morning somewhat cheered their drooping Spirits. They could now view the Country round, but it was only to see that they had no other Course to take than to return to their Boat, and endeavour to find the two *French* Ships which possibly might be still on the Coast of *Arisaig*.

They had not been an Hour out at Sea, before they met with a Boat with Passengers from *Benbicula* to the *Orkneys*. By this Boat they were informed that the *French* Ships of War had on the third an Engagement with three *English* Ships, in *Loch-Nanaugh* in *Arisaig*; that the latter were oblig'd to sheer off, and
on

on the fourth, many Persons, some of them of Distinction, had gone on board the *French Ships*; and it was not to be doubted but they sailed the same Day, having then a fair Wind, which they had for some Time waited for.

Having given this Information, the *Benbicula* Boat pursued her Course to the *Orkneys*, out of which she had been driven by the preceding Night's Winds, which occasioned her falling in with the young *Adventurer's* Boat. This News almost flung the unfortunate *Ascanius* into Despair, from which, doubtless nothing but a supernatural Assistance had hitherto preserved him. He was now more than ever at a Loss to know what Course to steer. Neither himself, *Sullivan*, nor *O'Neil* knew much of the Country, nor what Parts were then free from the Enemy's Forces.

O'Neil advised to follow the other Boat to the *Orkneys*, but this the Rowers absolutely refused, declaring they would take the shortest Way Home, being so weary of the Hardships they had suffered, that they would not run any more Hazards for all the Money in *Scotland*. Finding that Gold had no longer any Effect on them, *Ascanius* and Mr. *Sullivan* try'd all the Arts of Per-

Perſwaſion, but all to no Purpoſe. The Fellows knew not yet who their Paſſengers were, nor any thing further of them than that they were Officers eſcaped from the Deſeat at *Culloden*, and who could expect nothing but Death if they fell into the Enemy's Hands: And this was ſufficient to account for the extraordinary Endeavours they uſed to eſcape into *France*. As for the Rowers themſelves, they were of no Party, and were equally willing to ſerve any in their Calling, provided they were well paid. But the Hardſhips they had ſuffered by this Job, had given them enough of ſeeking Adventures.

While *Ascanius*, and his two Followers were debating with the Boat-men, a Ship appeared in Sight, and they ſoon perceived ſhe was making for the Boat. Whereupon *O'Neil* cried out to the Rowers. ' Aye! now, ye Dogs, ye will be ' taken, and every Soul of ye hanged ' for endeavouring to carry us off.' This frightened the Fellows ſo that, to ſave their Necks, they rowed luſtily for the Shore. By good Fortune (though extremely weak through Want of proper Suſtenance, and Sleep, and ſpent with the Fatigues they had juſt undergone) they ſoon got ſo nigh the Shore
that

that the Ship was forced to give over the Chace. However the Crew still refusing to go to the *Orkneys*, they were obliged to steer South along the Coast-Side, till at length they met with two small *English* Ships, on Sight of whom they run their Boat ashore on a little desolate Island, on which they remained from the 6th to the 10th. Here their Condition was indeed deplorable: Without House, without Bed, without Provisions, and what was still more uncomfortable, without the least Prospect of bettering their Situation, unless falling into the Enemy's Hands could be expected to better it, of which they were every Moment in Fear, the Sea round them being never free from Vessels of various Kinds all the while they were there. 'Tis true they found two or three Fishermen's Huts on the Island, and in one of them some Salt-Fish, which providentially had been left there, and without which they could not have subsisted. As to the Huts, they durst not venture to sleep in them for fear of a Surprise. These Huts were on the North Side of the Island, within half a Mile of the Sea. Further up the Country to the Southward, the Land was thickly over-grown with Brushwood and Shrubs, and it seem'd as if no human Creature ever came

came there. Among these, the forlorn *Ascanius* and his Followers concealed themselves in the Day-time, and one was always appointed to watch while the rest slept, which they the more securely did, being under no Apprehensions of any Disturbance from the Sea on this Side the Island, the Shore being rocky and almost inaccessible. In the Night-Time they shelter'd themselves in the Huts, which however but poorly defended them from the Injuries of the Weather, which was rainy every Night, and they were always wet to the Skin before Morning. Their Fish they steeped in Water, and afterwards broiled it on a Wood Fire; and as for Drink, they were glad to accept of what the Rain supplied them with; for the Island, which was not above three Leagues in Circumference, afforded none but what was too brackish to drink. *O'Neil* watched the first Day, *Sullivan* the second, and on the third *Ascanius* offered to take his Turn; for the surly Rowers absolutely refused, grumbling and swearing continually; and as they looked on their Passengers as the Authors of their present Distress, they thought it their Duty to bear the greatest Share of the Hardships: And agreeable hereto, they seized

feized the Remainder of the Brandy which was the *young Adventurer's* sole Property, and distributed their poor and scanty Provisions as they saw fit; and notwithstanding all the Art and Address *Ascanius* was Master of, they would do only what they pleased.—However the faithful and affectionate *O'Neil* would not suffer his **** to watch while himself slept, but insisting on it, chearfully made it his Turn again to watch on the third Day, and also on the fourth, Mr. *Sullivan* being indisposed. But now *Ascanius* could not sleep for ruminating on his deplorable Situation. Therefore he moved about and kept the Captain Company.

The Captain * being a Man of Sense, much experienced in the World, and one who had closely studied both Men and Books, was qualified to afford the *young Adventurer* much Entertainment by his Conversation, which *Ascanius* has since often acknowledged very much lessened the Disagreeableness of his Circumstances, and all the Hardships he underwent during these his Wanderings among the *Scotch Highlands* and *Iles*.

* He had been long in the Service of the King of *France*, in which Kingdom he was born, tho' of *Irish* Parents.

Among

Among other Topics, the Conversation betwixt *Ascanius* and the Captain this Day, turned upon the Genius, Manners, and Way of Living among the *Scotch* Highlanders. The former remarked what a Pity it was that so brave a People should be suffered to live in so savage a Manner, and that they might not only be made useful both to themselves and their Countrymen of *North* and *South Britain*, by Industry and Labour, (by a proper Cultivation of the natural Advantages of their Country and their Seas) but might be particularly serviceable to the Government in Times of War, as no People in *Europe* were possessed of more Courage or greater bodily Strength, none more hardily brought up from their Infancy, and consequently none more capable of enduring all Kinds of Hardships, Want, and Fatigues.

‘ This Observation of your R—H—’s, replied *O’Neil*, is very just. This People might doubtless be brought to be of much more Importance to the Crown of *Great Britain* than at present they are ; and the Highlands of *Scotland*, if cultivated to the best Advantage, would soon appear to be one of the most considerable Jewels in it, though at present so rough and unpolished.

No. 7.

O

About

' About forty Years ago, continued
 ' the Captain, the *English*, in Conjunction
 ' with the Lowland *Scots* formed a Scheme
 ' for civilizing the Highlanders, and
 ' making them apply themselves to Trade,
 ' Commerce, and Mechanicks. To this
 ' End a Society was established, and a
 ' Fund erected for defraying the Expence
 ' of the first Foundation for a Reforma-
 ' tion both in the Religion and Manners
 ' of these People. Of this Society a Gen-
 ' tleman at *London* drew up an Account
 ' which was printed at the Expence of
 ' the Society; I had a Copy of it sent
 ' me, which I have now in my Pocket,
 ' and as it may afford some Amusement,
 ' if your R— H— pleases I will read
 ' it to you.' *Ascanius* agreed to the Cap-
 ' tain's Proposal, and both sitting down
 ' in the Midst of the Bushes, the latter
 ' read the following Letter from a Gentle-
 ' man in *London* to his Friend in the Coun-
 ' try, viz.

S I R,

' I N answer to your's, in which you
 ' desire me to send you some Account
 ' of the *Society in Scotland for propa-
 ' gating Christian Knowledge*, which is
 ' (by all that know any Thing of it) al-
 ' lowed to be one of the worthiest De-
 signs

signs of the present Age ; I here send you the following one.

THE Extent of the Highlands of Scotland is much greater than has commonly been imagined : From the Mull of Kyntyre to *Farohead* in *Strathnaver*, is more than 200 Miles in a strait Line from South to North ; and from *Farohead* to *John-a-Groat's House*, is above 60 Miles along the North and Northern Coast of the Continent. Besides, there is a vast Number of inhabited Islands, of which some are both large and populous : For Instance, *Jura* is 24 Miles long ; *Isla* 16 ; *Mull*, 24 ; *Sky* 48 ; *Long Island* comprehending *Bara*, *Southuist*, *Northuist*, and *Lewes*, 100 ; and many others, from 2 to 12 Miles in Length. The Isles of *Orkney* and *Zetland* are to be considered by themselves ; for to *Orkney* alone belongs 33 inhabited Islands, one of which is 24 Miles, and another 12, in Length. In *Zetland* there are about 30 inhabited Islands, some of which are 6, others 7 Miles long. Many of these Islands lie at considerable Distances from the Continent, and from one another, and are in Extent about one half of Scotland.

In

38 ' In this great Extent of Country, Ig-
 norance and Superstition greatly pre-
 'vail: In some Places the Remains even
 ' of *Paganism* are still to be found, and
 ' in many others the Reformation from
 ' Popery has never yet obtained. The
 ' Parishes where Ministers are settled, are
 ' commonly of very great Extent, some
 ' thirty, forty, fifty Miles long, and ge-
 ' nerally divided by impassible Moun-
 ' tains and Lakes; so that most of the
 ' Inhabitants being destitute of all Means
 ' of Knowledge, and without any Schools
 ' to educate their Children, are entirely
 ' ignorant of the Principles of Religion
 ' and Virtue, live in Idleness and Pover-
 ' ty, have no Notion of Industry, or
 ' Sense of Liberty, are subject to the
 ' Will and Command of their Popish
 ' disaffected Chieftains, who have always
 ' opposed the propagating Christian
 ' Knowledge, and the *English* Tongue,
 ' that they might with less Difficulty keep
 ' their miserable Vassals in a slavish De-
 ' pendance. The poorer Sort have on-
 ' ly the *Irish* Tongue, and little Cor-
 ' respondence with the civilized Parts of
 ' the Nation, and only come among them
 ' to pillage the more industrious Inhabi-
 ' tants; they are brought up in the Prin-
 ' ciples of Tyranny and arbitrary Govern-
 ment,

ment, depend upon foreign Papists as
 their main Support, and the native *Irish*
 as their best Correspondents and Allies.
 This has been the Source of all the Re-
 bellions and Insurrections, in that Coun-
 try, since the Revolution.

On the other hand, they are naturally
 of a quick Genius, of great bodily
 Strength, and inur'd to Hardship. Their
 Country is commodiously situated for
 the noblest Fishery in the World, of
 which our Neighbours have made im-
 mense Profit. They have Mines and
 Woods, and great Quantity of black
 Cattle, and vast Tracts of improveable
 Land, which lie waste for want of In-
 dustry in the People, and not consider-
 ing the Advantage of their Situation.
 They are a numerous and prolifick
 People; and if reformed in their Prin-
 ciples and Manners, and usefully em-
 ployed, might be made a considerable
 Accession of Power and Wealth to *Great*
Britain. Some Clans of Highlanders,
 well instructed in the Arts of War, and
 well affected to the Government, would
 make as able and formidable a Body
 for their Country's Defence, as *Great*
Britain, or *Switzerland*, or any Part
 of *Europe*, are able to produce.

In

' In the Year 1701. some Gentlemen
 ' of *Edinburgh* first consider'd of proper
 ' Methods for civilizing and reforming
 ' them; and agreed, that the setting up
 ' of Schools in different and convenient
 ' Places, for the instructing of their
 ' Youth in the *English* Tongue, and the
 ' Principles of the Christian Religion,
 ' and disposing them to Virtue and In-
 ' dustry, would be the most likely and
 ' effectual Means. They join'd in a vo-
 ' luntay Subscription among themselves,
 ' and engaged as many others in it as
 ' they could, which laid the first Foun-
 ' dation of this great and publick De-
 ' sign.

' They soon found so great a Work
 ' too heavy a Burden for a few pri-
 ' vate Hands, and made Application
 ' to her Majesty Queen *Anne*, who was
 ' graciously pleased to approve and re-
 ' commend the same by her Royal *Pro-*
 ' *clamation*, in the Year 1708: And in
 ' 1709. granted her *Letters Patents*, con-
 ' stituting and appointing a certain Num-
 ' ber of the Subscribers to be a *Society*,
 ' or Body Politic, by the Name of, *The*
 ' *Society in Scotland for propagating Chri-*
 ' *stian Knowledge in the Highlands, and*
 ' *Islands, &c.* with full Powers to re-
 ' ceive Donations of Money, &c. and to
 ' purchase

purchase Lands, &c. not exceeding
 2000 l. a Year; and with the Profits
 and yearly Interest of the same to erect
 and maintain Schools, with many other
 Privileges and Regulations. The *Lords*
of Session, or Judges in *Scotland*, ac-
 cording to her Majesty's Commission,
 nominated eighty-two Subscribers to be
 the first Members of the Society, all of
 them Persons of the best and most di-
 stinguished Characters; who at their
 first General Meeting chose a *President*,
 a *Treasurer*, a *Secretary*, and other Of-
 ficers. They also chose a *Committee* of
 Fifteen, who meet every Month, or
 oftner, as they have Occasion. There
 is a General Meeting of the whole *So-*
*ciet*y every three Months, when they
 assume new Members, make gene-
 ral Regulations, give Orders to the
 Committee, and receive their Accounts.
 All Proceedings both of the Committee,
 and of the General Meeting are re-
 corded in distinct Books, which are al-
 ways open to the Examination of every
 Contributor. The Names of the Con-
 tributors are kept in a distinct Register,
 with an Account of the several Bene-
 factions.

In the Year 1710 they began to settle
 Schools in such Places as had never been
 reformed

' reformed from *Heathenism*: And their
 ' Capital Stock having yearly increased,
 ' by the liberal Contributions of many Per-
 ' sons of all Ranks in *Great Britain*, and
 ' amounting to above 10,000*l.* most of
 ' which is laid out upon good Security;
 ' they have encreased their Schools in pro-
 ' portion. Their Number at present is
 ' about One Hundred, where above Four
 ' Thousand are taught, *gratis*, to read,
 ' write, Arithmetick and Psalmody. Ma-
 ' ny of the poorer Scholars have a Week-
 ' ly Allowance for their Maintenance, and
 ' Cloaths and Books provided for them.
 ' Great Care is taken that the *Schoolmasters*
 ' are Men of Probity, Capacity, and well
 ' affected to the Government; and they are
 ' obliged, besides the Teaching the Chil-
 ' dren in the Schools, to instruct those, in
 ' the Principles of Religion, who are too
 ' old to come to School, and at too great
 ' a Distance from the Parish Church.
 ' Many Popish Parents have at length
 ' permitted their Children to be in-
 ' structed.

' This Society has appointed Persons
 ' of Character to be *Visitors* of their
 ' Schools, and to examine the Conduct
 ' and Diligence of the Schoolmasters, and
 ' the Proficiency of the Scholars, and to
 ' transmit Accounts to them at *Edin-
 burgh*.

' *burgh.* All possible Care is taken to
 ' manage the Money to the best Advan-
 ' tage, not a Farthing being diverted to
 ' any other Purpose; and all the princi-
 ' pal Officers of the Society serve *gratis*.
 ' The Success of the Undertaking has
 ' answer'd all the Pains and Expence of
 ' the Society: There appears a great Dis-
 ' position in the rising Generation to be
 ' instructed; many have learned to read
 ' the Scriptures, and attend Divine Ser-
 ' vice in *English*, where formerly the *Irish*
 ' Tongue was only understood. Several of
 ' the Scholars are capable of assisting the
 ' Masters; and some of them being Ma-
 ' sters of the Society's Schools. Many of
 ' them have attained to such Degrees of
 ' Knowledge, as to be admitted to the Ce-
 ' lebration of the Lord's Supper. The
 ' Face of Reformation and Virtue begins
 ' to appear every where; and there is
 ' Reason to apprehend, that, in a few
 ' Years, Ignorance, Popery, and the *Irish*
 ' Language will be utterly extirpated;
 ' and in their stead Virtue, Loyalty and
 ' Industry will take place.

' Nevertheless the present Fund is far
 ' from being sufficient to the Vastness of
 ' the Design, as equal from the Re-
 ' port of the *Commissioners*, appointed by
 ' his late Majesty King *George*, *Anno*

' 1716, to enquire into the State of the
 ' Highlands and Islands of Scotland, in
 ' pursuance of an Act of Parliament of
 ' the preceding Session, who gave it as
 ' their Opinion, That no Method was so
 ' likely to reduce these Countries to a State
 ' of Peace among themselves, and hearty
 ' Subjection to the present Government, as
 ' that of establishing Schools among them;
 ' and that over and above the present
 ' Number, One Hundred and Fifty more
 ' were absolutely necessary to render the
 ' Design fully effectual.

' This Report had so good an Effect,
 ' that it was enacted, (Anno 4to Georgii)
 ' in the Act for vesting the forfeited E-
 ' states in Trustees, &c. That a Sum not
 ' exceeding Twenty thousand Pounds, shall
 ' be appropriated towards making a capital
 ' Stock, for a yearly Interest, or Income,
 ' out of the Monies which shall arise by Sale
 ' of the said Estates which are in Scotland
 ' towards erecting and maintaining Schools
 ' in the Highlands, &c. And in the
 ' Act (6to Georgii) for laying a Duty on
 ' wrought Plate, there is a Proviso, That
 ' nothing therein shall invalidate the said
 ' Provision for Schools in the Highlands,
 ' &c. But notwithstanding this chari-
 ' table Provision of the Legislature, 'tis
 ' much to be lamented, that neither
 ' that

that Country, nor this Society, ever
 reap'd any Benefit by it, the Produce
 of the said Estates having been applied
 to other Purposes, whereby the re-
 forming and civilizing of that Country
 is left to depend very much upon
 private Contribution.

I must not forget to observe to you,
 That the Society's Charter extends to
 Popish and Infidel Countries beyond
 the Seas, and that four *Missionaries* are
 maintain'd for converting the native
Indians in *America* to the Christian
 Faith; three of which are station'd on
 the Frontiers of *New-England*, be-
 tween our Settlements and those of
French Canada, by which Means, the
Indians in those Parts will more easily be
 kept in Subjection to our Government,
 The Charge of these three is in a great
 Measure defray'd out of an Estate left
 to the Society by a late worthy Cler-
 gyman in *England* for that Purpose.
 The other *Missionary* is entirely sup-
 ported at the Society's Charge in the
 new Colony of *Georgia*; where seve-
 ral of the poorer People are gone to
 reside.

And to render this Design more
 fully a national Benefit, his present
 Majesty, from an earnest Desire to pro-

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‘*mate the Good of his Subjects in all*
‘*Parts of his Dominions, was graciously*
‘*pleased, in the Year 1728, to grant*
‘*his Royal additional Charter, to cause*
‘*such Children as they should find proper,*
‘*to be instructed in Husbandry,*
‘*Housewifery, and Manufactures. The*
‘*Society is taking all proper Measures*
‘*for erecting Working-Schools ; and have*
‘*good Encouragement to hope that the*
‘*landed Gentlemen in the Highlands and*
‘*Isles will not suffer themselves to be*
‘*outdone by their Protestant Neighbours*
‘*in Ireland, who took the first Hint from*
‘*their Design ; but will, like them, let*
‘*out and make Grants of small Parcels of*
‘*Ground to build their Schools on, and for*
‘*Kitchen-Gardens and Agriculture ; and*
‘*for the raising of Hemp and Flax for*
‘*the Linnen-Manufacture, which is now*
‘*so greatly improved in that Country.*
‘*This is the distinct State of the Case, in*
‘*all the Circumstances and Steps of it.*

‘*I know the Mismanagement of*
‘*Money, and applying it to other*
‘*Purposes than was proposed, is a great*
‘*Hindrance to publick Charities ; but*
‘*if we consider how many Persons of*
‘*distinguished Characters, of all De-*
‘*nominations of Protestants among us,*
‘*are concern'd in this ; the disintere ted*

‘*Z:al*

'Zeal for the publick Good, with which they act; and that all their Proceedings lie open to the View of every one; I think it is morally impossible that any very great Mismanagement can happen. And as this Undertaking is not the Work of a Party or Faction, but the Common Cause of *Christianity*, and an Attempt to civilize vast Numbers of People, near half a Million, and make them useful to Society, who have been in a great Measure useless, and in some Circumstances very hurtful to it; 'tis apprehended, That the wealthy and well-disposed, who have an hearty Zeal for the Honour of God, and Good of the Souls of Men, a true Love for their Country and the publick Welfare, or a due Concern for the Protestant Religion, and the present happy Establishment, cannot easily find any Instance of Usefulness more likely to turn to Account, or capable of answering more noble and extensive Purposes of Good.

Yours,

PHILO-BRITANNUS.'

The Captain having finished his Letter, *Ascanius* made some Remarks on the

Freedom with which the *Roman Catho-*
licks and their Religion were therein
 treated; observ'd, That indeed it could
 not be denied, that the *Protestants* of
 every Country were more industrious
 in cultivating the Arts and Sciences
 than the *Catholicks* were, especially
 all Improvements of the Understand-
 ing, and that this was indeed no
 slight Indication of the high Opini-
 on they have of their own Re-
 ligion, and that they were satisfied it
 would stand the Test of all human
 Learning. *England*, continued the
 young *Adventurer*, and *Holland*, with
Sweden and *Denmark*, and most Parts
 of *Germany*, furnish us with undeni-
 able Instances of this; and we may
 also add *France*, which is not more
 obliged to her Soil and Situation, and
 the Genius of her People, for the
 flourishing State of her Trade and
 Commerce, than to the less rigid In-
 fluence of the Church of *Rome* over
 this Nation, compared with *Spain*,
Italy, *Poland*, and some other Parts
 of *Europe*.—But, added *Astanius*, pray
 Captain, what has been the Success of
 this Society for civilizing and con-
 verting the *Highlanders*? For my part

part I have not hitherto seen much of
 the Fruits of their Labours.' The Society (replied the Captain)
 has hitherto made but little Progress
 in this its laudable Undertaking, which
 is, I believe, in a great Measure owing
 to the want of a due Support, and
 an ample and constant Supply of Cash
 for defraying the Expence; for the
 Highlanders are not of so untractable
 a Disposition as some have represented
 them to be. Indeed their Chiefs have
 also not a little obstructed the Efforts
 of the Society; because the unlimited
 Power they at present have over their
 Vassals would be more and more
 weaken'd, and at length totally over-
 turn'd by such a Reformation. The
 present Disturbances among this Peo-
 ple (continued the Captain) have, to be
 sure, suspended the carrying on of
 this Scheme; but, it is not to be
 doubted, but that the *English* will, as
 soon as these Troubles are appeased,
 encourage and push the Undertaking
 more than ever; and doubtless the
 Highlanders will be in a better Dis-
 position to receive Instruction; es-
 pecially as some of the most obstinate
 Glens will certainly be entirely ruin'd
 by the late unhappy Affair; and
 moreover,

moreover such of the Chiefs as heretofore favoured the projected Reformation, will now infallibly redouble their Efforts to carry it on to the utmost Lengths: And as to what they in particular may suffer by it, the Government will doubtless take Care to make them a sufficient Recompence.

While *Afcanius* and his trusty *O'Neil* were thus deeply engaged in Conversation, they (after moving from the Bushes among which they at first sat down) rambled insensibly towards the Place where the Boat was lying hid in a Cove; and the Sight thereof put it into the Captain's Head to go off in her, taking only *Mr. Sullivan* with them, and leaving the untractable Boatmen to shift for themselves on the Island. 'We must speedily (*said he*) be furnished to Death if we remain here; or, though we should make shift to keep Soul and Body together on this poor Island for a few Days longer, yet the best Fate we can expect here, is to prolong our miserable Lives 'till we are taken Prisoners, after which we have only a bare Possibility of having our Lives spared: At the worst we can but meet Death or Captivity if we put to Sea, but by so doing we have

‘ have also a Chance of escaping both, a
 ‘ Chance which we cannot look for if we
 ‘ stay much longer here.’

‘ My dear Captain (replied *Ascanius*)
 ‘ I both approve and dislike your Pro-
 ‘ posal. I am as much in haste to leave
 ‘ this Island as you can be, but I by no
 ‘ Means approve your Project of leav-
 ‘ ing these poor Fellows behind us.
 ‘ Though they are rude and insolent to
 ‘ us, yet still it would be taking too
 ‘ severe a Revenge to run away with
 ‘ their Boat, and leave them to perish mi-
 ‘ serably here. Consider, they are cha-
 ‘ grined and sowered by the Misfortunes
 ‘ we have drawn them into ; and in
 ‘ such Circumstances we ought to excuse
 ‘ their Errors. Besides you do not re-
 ‘ flect on our Inability to manage the
 ‘ Boat without them.’

‘ Whilst the young *Adventurer* and O’Neil
 ‘ were disputing this Matter, they came
 ‘ back towards the Bushes where *Sullivan*
 ‘ and the Men were left asleep ; but whom
 ‘ they now found busied in searching for
 ‘ the two Wanderers, whom, happening
 ‘ to wake, they had missed. ‘ My Friends
 ‘ and Companions in Adversity, (said
 ‘ *Ascanius*,) no Vessel appears within
 ‘ Ken ; these Seas perhaps are clear of
 ‘ the Enemy ; let us therefore embark,
 ‘ who

who knows but gracious Heaven will
 now at last deliver us out of all our
 Troubles? On this they all repair'd
 to the Boat, and after having carefully
 viewed the Main, whereon they saw no
 Sail, they re-imbarked; but not till
 after a warm Debate on the Course they
 were to steer. *Ascanius* propos'd to
 the *Orkneys*; upon which one of the
 Rowers made him this Answer: 'To
 the *Orkneys*, quo' ye! No, the De'el
 brust the Weams o' e'ery ane o' us
 an we do—Weese gang to the *Harris*,
 and fra thence weese fairly find our
 Way Heame again.' Hereupon the
 other Boatmen cried out unanimously,
 'to the *Harris*, to the *Harris*!' and
Ascanus, seeing it was in vain to oppose
 their Resolution, held his Peace.
 Every one in the Boat began now to
 look extremely meagre and savage, for
 Want of Provisions and other Necessa-
 ries; nor had they one Bit of any thing
 to eat, or Drop of any drinkable Liquid
 left. Mr. *Sullivan's* Indisposition in-
 creased; but there was no other Remedy
 to be had but Sleep, to which he was fre-
 quently inclined. In this Situation, they
 were, on the 11th at Break of Day, again
 chased by an *English* Ship, but happily
 got clear, by taking Shelter among the
 Rocks.

Rocks. In the Evening they again arrived at the Island of *Benbicula*, where they staid 'till the 14th; receiving Intelligence there that several *English* Ships were searching for *Ascanius* in these Parts, having heard that he had been at *Scalpa* in an open Boat. The Person who told them this was a Highlander who had escaped from the late fatal Battle, and who seeing *Ascanius* land, knew him, and resolved once more to devote his Life to the young *Adventurer's* Service. On his Representations *Ascanius* resolved to stay at *Benbicula*, 'till the circumjacent Seas should be less crouded by the Enemy's Ships.

The Boat-men now discovering who *Ascanius* was, fell on their Knees, and implored his Pardon for their past Rudeness, swearing they would live and die with him; and he as generously granted, as they humbly craved his Forgiveness.

Our *Adventurers* were much perplex'd to know how to dispose of themselves that Night, being far from the inhabited Part of the Island. Though they were all very weak, they thought themselves able, if Necessity required, to march all Night; but Mr. *Sullivan* was so ill that he could scarce stand, nor had any three of them Strength enough left to carry him,

him, though *Ascanius* propos'd this Expedient, and offer'd to be one of the Bearers himself, so great was his Affection to that Gentleman, whose Services indeed amply merited greater Favours than the young *Adventurer* has yet had in his Power to confer upon him.

The Highlander whom *Ascanius* found here (at *Benbicula*) was of the Clan of the *Grants*, Enemies to *Ascanius*, into whose Service this Man was taken by Mr. *Macdonald* the younger, of *Clanronald*. The poor Fellow durst not venture to shelter or trust himself among those of his own Clan, and therefore he retired to this Island, where, having procured himself a Boat, he had hitherto, under the Appearance of a Fisherman, conceal'd himself from the Knowledge of the Enemy; and indeed he had actually betaken himself to that Employment. He usually lodg'd in a Hut not far within the Shore, having two or three others of that Profession with him. As there were several other Fishermen's Huts thereabouts, *Ascanius* and his Followers lodged in them that Night; and while he and *O'Neil* were contriving a Bed for poor *Sullivan*, the Fishermen were busied in broiling and boiling Fish for Supper, for they had Kettles with them. As the Fishermen

men had luckily got some Salt, and as the Place afforded plenty of Water for Drink, our *Adventurers* feasted most deliciously, and now thought themselves the happiest Mortals under the Sun. *Sullivan* indeed could eat but little, and his Indisposition at this Time gave *Ascanius* more Concern than even his own unhappy Situation. This Gentleman was reposing himself on a Bed made of some of the Boat-men's Cloaths, they being content with having a good Fire to keep themselves warm, for there was plenty of Wood in the Place.

Ascanius seating himself on the Ground by Mr. *Sullivan*, expressed his tender Regard for him in such moving Terms as drew Tears from the By-standers, and in particular the humane and compassionate O'Neil. 'You must not, said *Ascanius*, you shall not, my dear *Sullivan*, die and leave me in these wretched Circumstances; forbid it, gracious Heaven! let me not lose the best and most beloved Friend I have in the World! — Or, if you needs will go, stay, Oh stay a little, and take me with you: I will not, I cannot live a Day after you. To what Purpose should I stay behind thee? Without thee how shall I conduct myself in this strange

' strange and barbarous Part of the
 ' World; how to avoid falling a Prey
 ' to my exulting Enemies. Or, if I do
 ' escape, yet Life will have no Charms
 ' for me without my Sullivan.' The
 sick Man was so affected with the young
 Adventurer's Discourse, that he was at a
 Loss to express his Acknowledgements.
 ' For my own Sake, said he, I could
 ' wish to die, for I have known enough
 ' of this World to make me weary of it.
 ' But since my Life is so valued by my As-
 ' canius, I hope to preserve it for his
 ' Service.—But let us not talk away
 ' the Night, we both have need of Rest,
 ' and I beg you will try to get some
 ' Sleep; we know not yet what we have
 ' to go through.'

And now our Adventurers went to their
 Repose, and all but Ascanius slept sound-
 ly till Morning; he alone could not rest
 for reflecting on his sad Circumstances;
 and his Fears for Mr. Sullivan. But the
 next Morning he had the Satisfaction to
 find that Gentleman much better, and
 able to walk about. This Morning As-
 canius, with a Pistol (for he carried a
 Pair concealed under his Cloaths, and
 which were the only Fire Arms he and
 his Followers had) shot a kind of a Sea-

Fowl.

Fowl, somewhat like a *Muscovy Duck*. He had spied and killed her sitting on her Nest in a Cavity of a Rock; but her Eggs were nigh hatch'd, and therefore no Body would eat them. The Fowl was immediately boiled, and the Fishermen having some Oatmeal, a Mess of Broth was made, the Captain being Cook. This Broth, and the Flesh of the Fowl did Mr. *Sullivan* great Service, and after a hearty Breakfast, he found himself able to march. *Ascanius*, and the Captain, and O'Neil also feasted deliciously on the Fowl and Broth, not having tasted such Dainties for thirteen Days.

They now thought it proper to advance farther into the Island, in order to procure some Provisions against they should re-imbark, which at present they durst not do for the great Number of Ships they saw. The Boat's Crew were now extremely submissive, and though not a Man of them was in good Health, they would needs carry what Moveables *Ascanius* and their other Passengers had, and they likewise, by Turns, supported Mr. *Sullivan* as he walk'd, two of them at a Time taking him by the Arms. About three o'Clock they got to the House of one of the Natives, who knew
the

the Highland Fisherman, and upon his Recommendation furnish'd the *Adventurers* with Oatmeal, Bread, Hung-Beef, and a Stone-Bottle to hold fresh Water. The Islander would have entertain'd them all Night, but knowing they were of the young *Adventurer's* Party, (though he little thought that *Ascanius* himself was there) he durst not, there being a Report that some Troops from the Isle of *Skye* were coming to *Benbicula* to search (as it was suppos'd) for *Ascanius* and others, whom they hoped to find; and therefore the Man was afraid of being hanged if he should be known to have assisted any of that Party, and more especially if any should be found in his House. For he knew not but that the expected Troops were already landed, or might land that Evening.

This Intelligence, though not to be entirely depended on, somewhat alarm'd *Ascanius* and his Followers, and they were again at a Loss which Way to move. It was now thought equally dangerous to proceed any farther among the Islanders, or to return to their Boat, and again put to Sea. Not caring to trust the Man of the House with their Resolutions, they desired him to withdraw, which he willingly did, and then after *Asca-*

nills and Mr. Sullivan had consulted together, the *Highland Fisherman* advised them to lye that Night in a Wood which he knew of, not far from the Place they were then at. This was approved of, and telling their Host they were returning to their Boat, that it might not lye in his Power to discover their Retreat; they returned, 'till out of Sight, the same Way they came, and then turn'd off to the Wood, which was on the Side of a Hill, and therein they found a dry Cave, in which they lodged that Night.

The next Morning the *Highlander* was sent out for Intelligence, and about Noon he returned, bringing the News of Colonel *Campbell's* being expected to land in the Island that Day, with a Party of the *Argyleshire* Militia. He had also undoubted Intelligence that the two *French* Men of War sailed on the Fourth, having taken on board the Duke of *Perth*, the Lords *Drummond* and *Elcho*, Mess. *Sheridan*, *Buchannan*, and many others of Note, as was supposed, their Names being not known. That the old Duke of *Atbol* (*i. e.* the Marquis of *Tullibardine*) had been forced to surrender, after having in vain skulked about the Sea Coasts, in hopes of getting off;

and after having not only killed his Horse, but flung himself into a bad State of Health, through the excessive Fatigue he had undergone. That every Day some Person of Note fell into the Hands of the victorious Enemy, besides great Numbers of the common People: And that many of the Clans had submitted and were disarmed. That however a considerable Number of such as continued firmly attached to the Interest of the young *Adventurer*, were assembled in *Lochabar*, but he heard not who headed them. That the two *French* Men of War, had (during the Engagement beforementioned, with the *English* Ships) landed several Chests of Money and a great Quantity of military Stores, all which were immediately secured by the *Adventuring* Clans, particularly Mr. *Mac Donald* of *Barisdale* and his People, and Mr. *Murray*, Secretary to *Ascanius*. That the Lords *Pitligo*, *Murray*, *Nairn*, *Ogilvie*, and *Dundee*, with many others of less Note had the good Fortune to get on board certain Ships they found in *Buchan*, and it was not doubted but they were all safe in *France* or elsewhere: But that the Misery of those left behind was inexpressible, being every where pursued, and continually hunted about from place

place to place by separate Parties of the Enemy.

This Intelligence was far from being agreeable to *Ascanius* and the rest, who now knew not which Way to turn themselves. Mr. *Sullivan* who was pretty well recover'd, propos'd to return to their Boat, and try to get into *Moydart*, where they could only hope to find Security till a Ship should arrive to carry them off. "For," said he, it is not to be doubted, but our hopeless Situation is by this Time certainly known in *France* and *Ireland*, and we may reasonably expect our Friends will send Vessels to find us out, and carry us off." *Ascanius* approving this Advice, the active Highlander was again sent out to see if the Coast was clear. Accordingly he went about two Miles from the Wood, and ascending a Hill, from whence he could view the Country as far as the Sea-Shore, where the Boat lay, he found all quiet, and no Appearance of any Body of Men. From hence inferring that the Enemy were not landed, or, however, not on that Side of the Island, he return'd, and then *Ascanius* and his Company set out for their Boat.

The Evening was by this time far advanced, and they were forced to

travel in the Night. By good Luck, however, they miss'd not their Way, but came to the Fishermen's Huts, their former Habitations, and there staid till Morning, when they re-embark'd in their Boat, of which the Fishermen before-mention'd had taken Care. Their faithful Highlander would fain have accompanied them, and *Ascanius* had taken such a Liking to him, that he was willing to gratify the poor Fellow, notwithstanding the manifest Inconvenience of increasing their Number. But the Prudence of Mr. *Sullivan*, and the Authority he had over the young *Adventurer*, prevented their taking the Man with them. The poor Fellow wept plentifully at parting with them, and falling on his Knees on the Strand, most pathetically implor'd the Protection of Heaven for his b—ve unfortunate * * *. *Ascanius* too shed Tears by Sympathy, and a moving Scene it was to see the Regard paid to each other by two Persons so different in the Rank they bore in the World, the one being of the highest, the other of the lowest Class of Mortals.

I am not certainly inform'd what it was that prevented their going directly to *Moydart*; for whether the Wind, or the Sight of some Vessel, obliged them

to

to vary their Course, on the 16th they were Vorn the Mountain of *Currado* in *South-Uist*, where they were hospitably entertain'd by the poor Natives, among whom *Ascanius* contracted a scrophulous Disease, very common in those Parts of the World, and which, in the Course of his Adventures, proved extremely troublesome to him. Here, having discharg'd their Boat, the young *Adventurer*, *Mr. Sullivan*, and the Captain continued three Days, waiting for Intelligence concerning the Motions of the Duke of *Cumberland's* Troops, and the *Scotch* Forces of the *English* Party.

On the 19th Advice came, that a Party of the Highland Militia from the Isle of *Skye*, was come to the Island of *Irasky*, and that the same Troops were hourly expected in *South-Uist*, in case they did not find what they sought in the Isle of *Irasky*.

Hereupon Captain O' Neil procured a small Boat, in which *Ascanius*, *Mr. Sullivan*, and himself failed to the Island of *Uist*, where they remain'd three Nights, hiding in Caves and Holes among the Rocks, and living all the while upon raw Oatmeal and Water, which greatly nourish'd and increased the scrophulous Distemper

stemper, which, as hath been observed, *Ascanius* caught in *South-Uist*.

On the 22d, Captain O'Neil, who had been appointed to look about the Coasts, and observe what Vessels appear'd in Sight, returned with one of the Crew of the eight-par'd Boat they had so lately discharg'd, and which had been chased by a Man of War's Pinnace into *Irasky*, where the Boat's-Crew laid in some Provisions, but durst not stay there a Moment longer than they could help, for fear of the Militia, who were expected from *Skye*, that Party being to scour all the Islands thereabouts.

The Boat-man farther reported, that he and his Brethren had endeavour'd, tho' in vain, to return to *Arifaig*, but could not proceed on their Way thither by Reason of the great Number of *English* Ships that were now very industriously scouring those Seas and Coasts, and which strictly examined every small Vessel that came in their Way. That they (*i. e.* the Boatmen) terribly dreaded a Discovery of their having assisted *Ascanius* in making his Escape, in which Case they expected nothing but the Gallows. That they had now put into the Isle of *Uist*, to avoid

avoid three Sail of small Ships, which they saw pass by towards *Benbicula*.

On this News *Ascanius* resolved to leave the Isle of *Uist*, and, by his Perswasions, join'd to the powerful Eloquence of Mr. *Sullivan*, the Boat-man was prevail'd on to go and try to engage his Fellows once more to take in their former Passengers. The Fellow succeeded, and our *Adventurers* again embark'd on board their eight-oar'd Boat. The Crew had an hundred Guineas given them for what they had already done: A monstrous Sum in their Eyes, and they were now promised such another if they safely convey'd *Ascanius* into *Moydart*.

They embark'd the same Evening, but the next Morning they were met by two Men of War, which oblig'd them to put back, and they remain'd at *Lochagnart* all that Day, and the Night following. The twenty-fourth, they fail'd for *Lochbusdale*. On this dreary Waste they were forced to remain eight Days, to avoid the strict Search of the Enemy, whom Providence still directed to such Places as *Ascanius* had not been at, or from whence he had timely retreated. Here they found a small Boat, which had probably been lost, and driven ashore

ashore at the Place where they landed, and which proved of no small Service to our *Adventurers*. The first Night they found themselves necessitated to take their Lodging on a Rock, the Top of which was somewhat concave, the Stones about the Edge being so much higher than the Middle, as to hide a Tent which they had pitch'd in it, (made of their Boat's Sail) from the View of any Person, either on the adjacent Sea or Land. Their Provisions growing short, two of the Crew were the next Day dispatch'd in the small Boat to procure more, nothing being to be had at *Lochbusdale*. The Boat return'd in the Evening with some Eggs, Oatmeal, Oat-Cakes, and Brandy sufficient to last them two Days, being all they could procure at a large Price on the adjacent Coasts. The Men also brought Intelligence, that the Enemy's Parties were searching for *Ascanius*, and his Adherents in all the Islands thereabouts; that their Troops also lined the Coasts of the main Land of *Scotland*, in such a Manner, that it would be Madness at present to attempt getting into *Moydart*, or indeed to stir from *Lochbusdale*, where the Enemy would hardly suspect the young *Adventurer* to be.

On this fresh disagreeable News *Amicus* could hardly preserve his usual Fortitude and Resignation to the Frowns of Fortune. ‘ O my *Sullivan*, said he, ‘ shall we never surmount the innumerable Obstacles that are thrown in our Way? Will Fortune never be weary of persecuting us? Go where I will, my evil Genius still follows me.—What will become of me at last? I may as well surrender at once, and get the best Terms I can, for I foresee I shall never escape, or at the best I can only expect to be starved to Death. Though my Constitution be good, it cannot hold out always; Fatigues, Want of Food, Sleep, and this nauseous Ma- lady * must at length put an End to my Life.— O God! how unhappy was I to be born of a Family, which ever was, and I fear ever will be, involved in the most deplorable Misfortunes?’

‘ We must not, replied Mr. *Sullivan*, ‘ we must not be discouraged by Appearances; for those which seem to make most against us, frequently turn out to our Advantage. Let us remain here till the Seas and Coasts are clear,

* *The Scotch Dissemper which he catch'd in South-Uist.*

‘ which, surely, they will soon be, for
 ‘ your Enemies having hitherto miss’d
 ‘ of you, may at length be induc’d to
 ‘ think you are got to the Continent, and
 ‘ to drop, or at least grow remiss in their
 ‘ Searches.’

In fine, *Ascanius* was forced to content himself with his Situation, ’till an Opportunity for mending it should appear. Mean Time the little Boat was daily sent out for Intelligence and Provisions; and on the seventh Day of their Abode here, Capt. O’Neil went in it to *Kilbride*, where he procured a fresh Supply of Brandy, which was their chief Sustenance, the Eatables they had being so extreamly poor and unpalatable, that only extream Necessity could oblige the young *Adventurer* and his two Friends, who had not been used to hard living, to away with them. Before the Captain departed from *Kilbride*, a Party of the old Garrison of *Fort-William*, under Captain *Scot* arrived there, having heard that *Ascanius* was in those Parts; and it was with great Difficulty that O’Neil got off undiscovered by this Party.

His Return with this Intelligence threw *Ascanius* and his Company into the utmost Consternation. They now found themselves in a more dreadful Situation

tuation than ever; for as Capt. *Scot* was so near, they every Moment expected him to fall upon them, it not being improbable but that he had such particular Information of their late Motions, as might induce him to come from *Kilbride* to *Lockbusdale*.—After each had given his Advice what Course to take, no other appeared than that of dismissing the eight-oar'd Boat, the Crew of which had Directions, in case they fell under an Examination, to say they had been employed by two Gentlemen, whom they had left at the Isle of *Uist*.

When the Boat was gone, *Ascanius* and his two Friends retired to a neighbouring Mountain, where they staid all Night in a Hut inhabited by a poor Peasant whom they sent out the next Day for Intelligence. He returned at Noon, bringing the unwelcome News of General *Campbell's* being at *Bernary*, which was as nigh them on the one Side as *Kilbride*, where *O'Neil* left Captain *Scot*, was on the other. No longer knowing which Way to move, and expecting every Moment to be taken, *Ascanius* and his two ever faithful Friends rambled about from Hill to Hill, and from Cottage to Cottage, in hopes of meeting with some one who could point out to them the Means of

Deliverance from their present Danger.

At last, by good Fortune they espied a Lady on Horseback, attended by only one Servant. The Captain immediately made up to her, and politely begg'd her to stop a Moment. She, terribly affrighted, durst not refuse, and entreated the Captain not to offer any Rudeness to her. ' Madam, replied O'Neil, you ' have nothing to fear from an unhappy ' Man, who is on the Brink of Destruction, and has no Hopes but in the Information you may possibly give him. ' Knowing the Fair are ever ready to ' pity and assist the Wretched, I am embolden'd to put my Life into your ' Hands, though ignorant of your Family or Principles. I am, Madam, a ' French Officer, who with the two others you see yonder, are here pent in ' by the Enemy, and expect every Moment to be taken, unless Providence ' shall speedily work our Deliverance. ' Can you, Madam, inform us of any ' open Passage from hence to some Place ' where our Friends are not yet subdued. ' Sir, replied the Lady, *I, from my Heart, pity your Condition; my Family hath ever been strictly attach'd to the ' exiled House of S—.* As far as lies

in my Power you may command my Services. I have been in Moydart, and am now going to Good Hope, whither I wish you and your two Friends could safely accompany me; but I must pass through your Enemies Guards to get thither, which it is impossible for you to do: Neither can you go to the Place whence I come, the Country all round us being surrounded by a Line of Militia. Over yonder blue Hills, indeed, I believe the Passage is open to Currada, for I have heard of no Troops being on that Side; and that is the only Way you can get out of this Country.

While the Lady was yet speaking, Ascanius and Sullivan came up. The young Adventurer immediately knew her, Mr. M'Donald of South-Uist, having formerly brought her to pay her Court to him at Inverness. Miss M'Donald, said Ascanius, have you forgot me? The young Lady presently recollected his Voice, tho' not his Person, which was extremely disfigured by the Hardships he had undergone. Nimbly dismounting, she flung herself at his Feet, and would have kissed his Hand, which he modestly prevented, and made a Sign to the Captain to lift her up: His Reason for this, was, the Malady he had contracted

tracted in *Currada*, and which had not a little affected his Hands. The Lady's Tenderness was quite moved, and she could not avoid shedding Tears on seeing the young *Adventurer* in so wretched, so forlorn a Condition. But the Day declining apace, Capt. O'Neil proposed that *Ascanius* should put on her Servant's Cloaths, and attend her to her Journey's End; but this was found impracticable, as they knew not what to do with the Fellow, who in this Case must inevitably fall into the Enemy's Hands, and it was not thought safe to put it in his Power to discover them. In short, as no better Method then occur'd, it was concluded, that *Ascanius* and his two Friends should pass over, if possible, to a certain Place on a Mountain in *Currada*, and there wait 'till they heard from the Lady. This Resolution being taken, she took her Leave, and proceeded on her Journey.

The young *Adventurer* happily found a safe Passage to *Currada*, where they waited three Days without hearing from the Lady. Mean Time they lived wretchedly, being forced to lie hid in a Cave Day and Night, with no other Food than what a poor Peasant brought them, and which was generally miserable

ble Stuff; nay, they seldom knew what it was they eat. On the third Day, in the Evening, *Ascanius*, concluding the Lady would not, or durst not keep her Word, (for she assured them they should hear from her within two Days at farthest) resolv'd to free himself from his present Anxiety and Misery, by sending the Captain to General *Campbell*, to get the best Terms for a Surrender that he could. This desperate Resolution had certainly been executed the next Morning, had not a Messenger luckily arriv'd that very Evening, by whom Miss *M'Donald* appointed them to meet her as soon as possible at *Rushness* in *Benbicula*.

But how to get thither was the Question. They must first pass by Land to the other Side of *South-Uist*, and there was but one Way, viz. by a Ford, at which a Party of the Militia were posted; and by these they durst not attempt to pass. However, Providence directed them to a Place where they found a Boat, by the Help of which they got to the other Side of *Uist*, where seeing many of the Country-People, they hid themselves among some Bushes for several Hours. At last all Obstacles gave Way, and about Midnight they safely arriv'd at *Rushness*. But here they fell into more Dan-

gers, and met with fresh Disappointments. The Lady was not to be found at the Place assign'd, and the next Morning a Party of Soldiers appear'd in Sight, which oblig'd them to fly to a Moor, on which the young *Adventurer* and Mr. *Sullivan* remain'd, while Captain *O'Neil* went to the House of Mr. *McDonald* of *Clanronald*, to enquire after Miss, who was related to that Laird, and at whose House he expected to find her, or at least get Information where she was. The Captain found her there, and she gave him satisfactory Reasons for not meeting the young *Adventurer* at the Place appointed, which was the Ruins of an old Castle on a noted Hill. However, she now promised to meet him there in the Evening: But this Appointment was also frustrated by the Arrival of General *Campbell* with two Troops of Militia. To avoid these, *Alcanius* was forced to travel all Night along the Shore, to gain another Side of the Island. The next Morning's Break presented him with the unwelcome Sight of four small Vessels, in full Sail for that Part of the Shore where he was, so that he and his two Followers were now extremely weak, to fly would have been dangerous; for had they run up the Country directly from the Water, they must

must have been seen, and so they would
 had they fled along the Shore. This
 would have made them suspected, pur-
 sued, and though the People from on
 board should not overtake them, (of
 which, however, our Fugitives could have
 but little Hopes) a general Alarm thro'
 the Island must have ensued; and in
 that Case it would be impossible to
 escape. In short, as no other Method
 was left, they laid themselves down a-
 mong the Whin-Bushes, which conceal'd
 them 'till the Vessels were gone; and
 then they determined to march for the
 Laird of *Clanronald's*, though they knew
 that he was gone to the Continent. But
 when they were within a Mile of the
 House they met several Persons who ap-
 peared to be Servants, flying in great
 Hurry from thence, and one of these
 told Mr. *Sullivan* that the Reason of their
 Flight was the Arrival of General *Camp-*
bell at Mr. *McDonald's*, with Intention
 of seizing both him and all his People.
Ascanius enquir'd after Miss, and was
 told that she had gone out the Evening
 before, and was not yet returned.

Thus, which Way soever the distressed
 wandering *Ascanius* bent his Steps, Mis-
 fortunes attended, while Despair went
 before him! Again, absolutely at a Loss
 from which

which Way to turn himself, he was in doubt whether he should not go and surrender to *Campbell*. He question'd not but that the young Lady went the Evening before to the Place appointed, and as she did not return that Night, and it was uncertain what was become of her, so he no longer expected a Deliverance from that Quarter.

Mr. Sullivan's Counsel was now of little Avail. That Gentleman durst not advise him to surrender, and he could not sincerely wish him to take any other Course, for now inevitable Ruin stared them in the Face, turn which Way they would. To get from the Island appear'd impossible. To continue skulking about was the Way to be either taken or starved to Death for want of Food, having already liv'd two Days upon nothing but Berries. At last the Captain propos'd that himself should go in Search of the Lady, who, for aught they knew, might still expect them at the Place appointed, and with her some Means for their Assistance. This was agreed to, and in the mean Time *Africanus* and *Mr. Sullivan* were again to hide themselves among the Whins which had before afforded them a Sanctuary.

The

The Captain took with him a poor Fellow whom he engaged for a few Shillings to shew him the nearest and most bye Ways to the Place where he hoped to find the Lady. Arriving at the Place appointed, he found there a Countryman who pretended to be cutting Heath for Fuel. This Man had been station'd there by Miss M'Donald to direct *Ascanius*, if he should come there, where to find her. O'Neil had taken no Notice of this Fellow, if he had not asked him what he look'd for there. *I look,* answer'd the Captain, with a careless Air of Evasion, *for a pretty Lass.* *I fancy then,* replied the Man, *you look for Miss M'Donald.* O'Neil, though surprised, answer'd in the Affirmative, and was conducted to a Cottage hard by, where he found the Lady, who had been waiting there since the Evening before. She told the Captain that not finding *Ascanius* at the Place appointed, she had retired to this Cottage, the People who lived in it being at her Devotion; but that she had waited on the Hill part of the Night, in hopes the young *Adventurer* would have come to her. She suspected, that *Campbell's* Arrival oblig'd him to retreat, but was still in hopes of his Return, on the

the General's marching farther into the Island.

After informing O'Neil of the Plan she had form'd for concealing the young Adventurer, 'till a Vessel could be found to convey him to France, she dispatch'd the Captain to bring *Ascanius* and Mr. *Sullivan* to her. This was happily effected; but how lively was the young Adventurer's Grief when he found that he must be seperated from his two faithful and affectionate Attendants? But vain were his Lamentations, the Lady protested she could not undertake the Delivery of more than one, who must be dressed in Woman's Cloaths, and pass for her Maid. As for Mr. *Sullivan* and the Captain, they chearfully cried out, *Let Ascanius escape, and never mind us; so be we safe, it matters not what becomes of us; when we can no longer serve our P——, welcome Captivity or Death.*

You have yet some Chance of escaping both, replied the Lady, for I can direct you where a Boat may probably be found to carry to *Raza*, where I will recommend you to the Care of the Benevolent Mr. *M'Lead*, who will think himself happy if he can find an Opportunity of serving Gentlemen who have merited so much by their

Sufferings

‘ Sufferings in the Service of our ill—
Adventurer. *Ascanius*, seeing there
 was no Remedy, endeavoured to bear
 up against the Pangs of so melancholy
 a Parting. But in vain ; the Tears
 forced their Way. He would have
 spoke the Fulness of his Heart, but
 Grief stopp’d his Tongue, and he could
 only express himself by hanging on the
 Neck of his beloved *Sullivan*, whose
 Attachment to him in his Distress had
 made him dearer to *Ascanius* than ever.
 At last the Lady was forced to hasten
 their Separation, and the young *Adven-
 turer* with inexpressible Regret, dis-
 miss’d his beloved Companions, with a
 thousand Invocations and Prayers to
 Heaven for their Safety : These mov-
 ing Expressions of the warmest Affection
 were no less ardently return’d by them,
 whose Fears for *Ascanius* were infinitely
 greater than for themselves.

They were no sooner gone than the
 young Lady gave *Ascanius* somewhat to
 cure his cutaneous Distemper ; and
 while he used it, she retired into another
 Partition of the Cottage, and also to
 give him an Opportunity of putting on
 his Female Habit. When he was ready,
 Mills instructed how to manage his Pet-
 ticoats, and told him he was no longer

a Soldier and a P—, but her Maid *Betty*. And now a Servant brought Intelligence that General *Campbell* was gone further in the Country; whereupon she returned with her new Maid to her Cousin *Clanronald's* House; and spent the Night in Preparations for her Departure to the Isle of *Sky*. Mean Time she desired *Ascanius* to take a refreshing Nap, but he could not sleep for reflecting on the dangerous Circumstances of his late Companions, of whose Escape he had small Hopes; tho' he had no Fears for himself if they should be taken, being confident they would endure the most cruel Torments without betraying him.

The next Morning, *June* the ninth, a Boat and every Thing being ready, the young Lady, accompanied by her Maid *Betty*, with a trusty old Man Servant named *M^r Lean*, and two Rowers, set out for the Isle of *Sky*, where she doubted not of sure Protection, till a Vessel could be found either there or somewhere thereabouts, to carry *Ascanius* off. This she the more confidently expected, as Sir *Alexander Macdonald* appeared in the Government's interest, and was himself at that Time in the Duke of *Cumberland's* Army; for which Reason the Enemy would never suspect the young

Adventurer

Adventurer to hide in Sir *Alexander's* House; where, nevertheless, his tender hearted Lady would not fail to afford the distressed Wanderer a safe Affylum while it should be convenient for him to remain there: And besides, there was the less Danger of his being discover'd, as no one (who was not let into the Secret) would probably suspect Miss *Macdonald's* supposed Maid to be any other than what she appeared to be. However the generous Lady was not without some Fears, *Ascanius* being very awkward in his new Metamorphosis; for, as she merrily told him he did not act the *Pretender* to the Life. 'Indeed, Madam,' replied he, laughing, 'I am ill-qualified for an Impostor, as all our Family ever where; but since our Enemies have made bold to bestow Appellations of that Sort on us, I'll for once try to act a borrow'd Part, and perform as well as I can.'

From this Subject, the Conversation, as they sailed along, turned on the great Progress the young *Adventurer's* Enemies made in reducing all *Scotland*, and its many Isles, to the Obedience of the House of *Hanover*. And Miss informed *Ascanius* of the Surrender of the Earl of *Kelly*; the taking of Lord *Lovat*,
M.

Mr. Murray of Broughton, Secretary to the young *Adventurer*; the Earl of *Tragoun*, with many others of Distinction, besides those he had already heard of, and whom I have mentioned before.

'Tis a cutting Reflection to me, said *Ascanius*, that so many brave Men should be ruin'd by their Attachment to my Interest: that I have involved them in mine and my Family's Misfortunes! And thou too, my dear *Sullivan*, thou best of Friends! Art thou too, who were once so happily situated, destin'd to a Life of Misery, or a cruel Death for my Sake! Oh! I cannot bear that thought;—Here a Flood of Tears burst forth, which the apprehensive and sorrowful *Ascanius* could not stop, and which so affected every one else in the Boat, that all in silence joined with him in tenderly weeping, 'till they were roused by the Appearance of a small Vessel, which obliged them to ply their Oars; but happily a thick Mist descended, and they passed all the Ships which then lay about the Isle of *Sky*, at which they arrived about Midnight. Their landing-Place was at the Foot of a Rock, on which the Lady and *Ascanius* remained while her servant *M'Lean* went to Sir *Alexander Macdonald's*,

Macdonald's to know if he was at Home, and whether she might safely go thither. The old Man found his way thither but missed it in coming back, and rambled about for some hours to no purpose. Mean Time his Lady impatiently waited his Return. When the Morning came she and her pretended Maid were forced to leave the Rock, and go in the Boat up a Greek at some Distance. This was done to avoid a Body of Militia which guarded the Coast, and from whom the Boat almost miraculously escaped.

Again they went ashore (about Ten o'Clock) and attended by the Rowers, enquir'd the Way to Sir *Alexander Macdonald's*. Having gone about two Miles, they met *M^r Lean*, who had been seeking them all the Morning, and was dreadfully afraid they were taken. He told his Lady that Sir *Alexander* was with the Duke of *Cumberland*, but that his Lady was at Home, and would do *Ascanius* all the service in her Power. Hereupon they discharged their Boat and went directly to Sir *Alexander's*, where the young *Adventurer* remained two Days; keeping all the while in his Lady's Chamber, except a Nights, for Fear of a Discovery. But on the thirteenth in the Evening, a Party of the *Macleds*, having

Intelligence that some Strangers were arrived at Sir *Alexander Macdonald's*, and knowing his Lady was well affected to *Ascanius*, came thither and demanded to see the new Comers. Hereupon they were introduced to Miss *Macdonald's* Chamber, where she sat with her Maid *Betty*. The latter hearing the Militia at the Door, had the Presence of Mind to get up, and open it, and so was the less taken Notice of; seeing no body in the Room besides Lady *Macdonald*, and Miss, and the supposed Maid, they withdrew after searching the Closets, &c. They examined *Macleane*, but he confess'd nothing but his being a Servant to Miss *Macdonald*, and affirmed that no body came with her, besides her Maid and the Boat-men, who he said were returned to *Benbicula*.

This Enquiry however alarmed the apprehensive young Lady, who fearing a second Visit, sent her Maid the next Day to the House of one of Sir *Alexander's* Stewards, where Mrs. *Betty* remained in Safety 'till the sixteenth, when a Rumour spread about that *Ascanius* was hiding in the Island in Disguise. Luckily at this Juncture Mr. *Macdonald* of *Kingborough* came to this same Steward, about some Business, and before he departed,

departed, Mrs. *Betty's* Lady happened to come to inform her Maid of the Danger; and she making no Scruple to inform Mr. *Macdonald* (whose Disposition she well knew) who her Maid was, he resolved to take *Ascanius* with him to his House.

The young *Adventurer* had by this Time got rid of his Distemper, and by good Living had recovered his pristine Health and Vigour. It was ten Miles from the Steward's to *King'sborough*, and he and his new Friend were obliged to walk it; but Mr. *Macdonald*, though a lusty Man, was frequently forced to call upon *Ascanius* to slacken his Pace, so nimbly did the latter trudge it, notwithstanding his Pettycoats, which very much obstructed the Motion of his Legs. When a River came in his Way, *Ascanius*, according to his wonted Custom, forded it without pulling off Shoes or Stockings. However on these and some other Occasions he generally forgot himself, and pulled up his Petticoats so rudely, that it was well none but Friends were with him, or he had discovered himself to be but an out of the way Sort of a Woman.

At *King'sborough* *Ascanius* remained but one Day. For on the seventeenth Miss

Macleod came thither on Horseback, and conjured him to be gone, for that Diligent Search was making after him; and that he was known to be in *Woman's Cloaths*. Hereupon *Mr. Macleod* furnished him with a Suit of his own Cloaths, and a Boat was hired to carry him to *Mr. Macleod of Raza*. By this Gentleman *Afcanius* was received with all possible Demonstrations of Duty and Affection. He now hoped to see his dear Friends *Sullivan* and *O'Neil*, or at least to gain some Intelligence of them; but upon inquiring whether they were at *Raza*, he to his inexpressible Grief, was answered in the negative, nor were they so much as heard of there; on the contrary, the Report that the former was gone off with the French Men of War lately at *Loch Nanaugh*, was here entirely believed. But in this Particular *Afcanius* undeceived *Mr. Macleod*.

Here the young Adventurer carried three Days, without having the least Prospect of getting a Ship to carry him to the Continent. This made him uneasy, and he resolved to return to the Isle of *Skye*, where *Mr. Macleod* assured him that the old Laird of *Mackinnon* would be both able and willing to do him all

the

the Service that in his present Circumstances he could reasonably expect. ^{but} Again *Ascanius* sets out for the Isle of *Skye*, and though hazardous the Passage, he landed with Safety. Here, without any Attendant, but an honest simple Ferry-man, ^{where} he travelled near thirty Miles on Foot with his Linnen and Provisions in a Wallet across his Shoulder: Nor would he suffer the solicitous Ferryman to carry them one Step.

Not knowing one Foot of the Way from his Landing-place to the Laird of *Markinon's* House, among others he chanced to enquire the Road of a Gentleman whom he met on the Top of a Mountain. The Gentleman suspecting that it was *Ascanius*, (for he had formerly seen him at the Head of his Army) he boldly asked the Question, though he expressed the Demand in very respectful Terms. The young *Adventurer* was greatly surprized at finding himself so unexpectedly interrogated, but seeing the Gentleman had no Body with him but a single Servant, he resolutely answered, *I am the P— of W—*; and at the same Time briskly advanced with a heavy oaken Cudgel (which he travelled with) in his Hand, resolving, if the Stranger proved a Foe, to kill or be

be killed; for, if an Enemy, to have let him go off with such a Discovery, would have been mere Madness, and could hardly fail of producing very great and fatal Consequences to *Ascanius*. He had, however, no Occasion to come to Blows with the strange Gentleman, who was already subjected to the young *Adventurer* by his Principles. “Hold! my P——, cried he, you have not a Friend in the World who will run greater Hazards to serve you than myself.”—In short, *Ascanius* with Pleasure discovered him to be the brave Captain *William Macleod*, a zealous Adventurer, and one who had already very much contributed, though privately, to the Support of the Party,* without having been hitherto in the least suspected by the Friends of the Government.

Having discovered himself to *Ascanius*, the Captain begged that he might have the Honour of conducting him to the Laird of *Mackinnon*’s, to which the young *Adventurer* readily consented! The Captain had indeed some Business of Moment to transact, which required Dispatch, and which occasioned this Journey in which he met with *Ascanius*,

* This Gentleman has since taken Sanctuary in France.

whom

whom to serve, he nevertheless cheerfully returned by the same Way he came, thinking none of his own private Affairs of any Importance, compared with the present Opportunity of shewing his Regard to * * * * *

As they travelled along, the Captain informed *Ascanius* that Mr. *Sullivan* and Captain *O'Neil* were taken by the Enemy in *South Uist*, as were Miss *Macdonald*, Mr. *Macdonald* of *Kingsborough*, and Sir *Alexander Macdonald's* Steward, whom we have already mentioned; the three last were taken into Custody in the Isle of *Skye*.

This Intelligence gave *Ascanius* more Uneasiness than all the Misfortunes he had met with since the Commencement of his late unhappy Enterprize. The loss of his beloved *Sullivan* struck him to the Heart; nor did he before know how greatly he esteemed the gallant Captain *O'Neil*; but now he was thoroughly sensible of the want of these two invaluable Friends.

In fine, *Ascanius* was quite stupified with Grief, when he arrived at Mr. *Mackinnan's*. That wise and experienced old Laird knew the young Adventurer at first Sight; but was so shock'd at the miserable Plight he saw him in, that he
could

could hardly refrain from accusing the sovereign Disposer of all Things, for dealing so severely with so * * * * and so * * * * *

But, checking himself, the old Man melted into Tenderness and Tears, and falling on his Knees, he would have embraced those of *Ascanius*, who prevented him, and gently raised the brave and venerable *Mackinnon* from the Ground. "I must not," said the young *Adventurer*, "see you remain a Moment in a Posture, which I think may not only well be dispensed with in my miserable Circumstances ; but more especially on Account of that reverend Age to which you have lived, which no less commands the Veneration of young Men, than your great Abilities. Experience, and profound Knowledge of the World, does their Respect and Submission to your Advice.

After *Ascanius* had refreshed himself, he gave Mr. *Mackinnon* a brief Summary of his Adventures since the Battle of *Culloden* ; and the compassionate old Gentleman was very much affected by the Rehearsal of his Distresses. But what greatly aggravated his Grief, was his Inability to bring them to a Period.

In

In short he plainly told the young *Adventurer* that he must expect no Safety in that *Place*, nor ought to stay there longer than one Night. But, added he, I will find Means, if GOD permit, to convey you safely to your Friends in *Lochabar*, where only you can hope for Security till a Vessel may be found to carry you to France. While a Boat was providing, the Captain took Leave of *Ascanius*, telling him he would go and lay himself in the Way to be taken, on purpose to give false Information, and thereby facilitate his (the young *Adventurer's*) Escape. In vain did *Ascanius* endeavour to dissuade the generous *Macleod*, who obstinately persisted in his heroic Purpose, and as punctually executed it; and probably this was a great Means towards the young *Adventurer's* happy Arrival at *Lochabar*. The Laird of *Mackinnon* accompanied him by Sea, and when he saw him safely landed, and as safely sheltered beneath a friendly Roof, in an unsuspected Place, the Sage returned for his native Soil, taking with him the Rev. Mr. *Cameron*, Brother to that *Lochiel* I have before so often mentioned, and of whom I shall have Occasion to speak again. But alas! Fortune never weary of persecuting the

No. 10 T Friends

Friends of *Ascanius*, sent Capt.* *Ferguson* of the *Furnace* Sloop, who intercepted *M^r Innon* in his Passage, and made the Laird, *Mr. Cameron*, and three of the Rowers Prisoners; but a Fourth leaped over-board and was drowned in trying to make the Land: But let us return to *Ascanius*.

After remaining seven Days among his Friends in the *Glens* of *Morar*, a Messenger which he had dispatch'd into *Lochabar*, returned with a Letter from the valiant *Donald M^r Donald* of *Lochgarie*. This steady Chieftain not daunted by the Power and Progress of the victorious Enemy, nor check'd by the uncertain hopelefs Fate of the young *Adventurer*, had still kept his Arms, and maintained his trusty Vassals about him. In his Letter he informed *Ascanius*, that if he would please to honour the Country of *Lochabar* with his Presence, he would there find a hardy, tho' small Body of *Highlanders*, every Man of whom would spend their last Drop of his Blood to defend him till a Passage to *France* should

* This Gentleman has been since prefer'd to the Command of a new twenty Gun Ship, at the Recommendation of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, for his great Services during the Rebellion.

be found. Hereupon *Ascanius* set out in an old *Highland* Habit, safely got over the great Hill of *Morar*, and July the eighteenth he entered *Lochabar*, where *Lochgarie* joyfully received him at the Head of near one hundred resolute *M'Donalds*. With these he kept roving about from Place to Place, to elude the Vigilance of the Enemy's strong Detachments, who wish'd for nothing more than to overwhelm this little Party. *Lochgarie* told the young *Adventurer*, that the valiant and faithful *Lockiel*, who had happily recover'd his Wounds, and hitherto escaped the Enemy, was still in his Country, tho' the greatest Part of it had submitted. This was grateful Intelligence to *Ascanius*, who highly valued that young *Chief*. Nor was he less rejoiced at the current Report of Mr. *Sullivan's* not being taken, tho' his Companion the Captain actually was: But what was become of the former, did not certainly appear: tho' it was believed he had got into *France*, by means of an *Irish* Vessel that touched at *South-Uist*.

When the young *Adventurer* and his Party could no longer remain in *Lochabar*, they removed into *Badenoch*, where they were joined by *Lockiel*, by *M'Donald*

wald of Barisdale, (who shed Tears of Joy on so happily and unexpectedly seeing *Ascanius* again) with his Sons and Grandsons; also by Dr. *Cameron*, *Lochiel's* Brother, Mr. *M'Pheron* of *Clunie*, and others. No Words can express the Transports this joyful Meeting occasioned in the Breasts of *Ascanius* and his dear *Lochiel*. And tho' a becoming Consciousness of his superiour Dignity, prevented the former from giving into such Raptures as the latter indulged himself in, yet the Scene was extreamly tender, and called forth Tears of Gladness from the Eyes, and lively Ejulations from the Hearts of every one present; for they were altogether met in a large Cave—Such Places were now familiar to the young *Adventurer* and his Followers.

While they remained in *Badenoch*, Skirmishes frequently happened with the separate Parties of the Enemy, and many of the Friends of *Ascanius* were killed and taken. In short, it was at last found inconvenient for any Number above three or four to keep together; and therefore they dispersed, but kept a continued Correspondence by Messengers: though these were often taken, but being trusty Fellows, they never betrayed their employers.

In the latter End of *August*, *Ascanius*, *Lochiel*, *Barisdale*, and others, were hiding about in *Moidart*, when they received Advice that two *French* Privateers of considerable Force had sailed from *St. Maloes* for *Scotland*; and on the sixth of *September* they came to Anchor in *Lochnanagh*, in *Moidart*. They were the *Happy* of 30 Guns, and 300 Men, and the *Prince of Conti*, of 22 Guns and 240 Men, both were fitted out at the Expence of his most Christian Majesty, on purpose to fetch off *Ascanius*, and such of his Followers as should have the Happiness to get on board. The young *Adventurer* took it for a good Omen that these Vessels happened to arrive in *Lochnanagh*, the very Place where he first landed; and from whence he now hoped to depart with equal Facility. But such was his Generosity, and so great his Moderation, that when this long wish'd for, and now almost unlook'd for Opportunity came, he absolutely refused to go on board, till as many of his Followers as could possibly be got together were first embarked. And to this End he waited from the Sixth to the nineteenth, hiding all the while in and about *Arisaig*; enduring almost as much Fatigue, and running almost as many Hazards as he had done

before. But so remiss were his Enemies, or rather so great the Favour of Heaven, that he escaped the Notice of all who desired to hurt him.

Mean Time his faithful *Lockiel*, with the Doctor (*Lockiel's* Brother,) and *Lodovick* Cameron their Uncle, were continually pressing him to go on board, and no longer Hazard his Person on Shore, encircled by Enemies whose Vicinity to him rendered his Stay on Land extremely dangerous. No, would *Ascanius* say, *my People shall never reproach me with deserting them, as my unhappy Father unadvisedly did. I will be the last Man to leave the Country, and if my Friends stay not to take me on board, I only shall be deserted. The Life of the meanest of my Followers is as dear to me as my own, nor shall one be sacrificed by being left behind, if I can help it.*—In vain did they also represent to him the great Hazard of keeping the Ships so long on the Coast. That the *English* Men of War might have Intelligence of their being there, and should this Opportunity miscarry, they might in vain wait for another.

At last, *September* the nineteenth the young *Adventurer*, seeing all his Friends (all who had escaped Death, or Imprisonment, or had not been forced to submit to

to the Enemy) were embarked, or ready to embark with him, he went on board the *Happy*, and immediately both she and her Consort set sail with a fair Wind. The Number of those that embarked with *Ascanius* was twenty-five Gentlemen, one hundred and seven common Men. They had the Happiness of a safe Passage, notwithstanding the great Number of *English* Men of War that lay in their Way. In turning the Coast of *Cornwall*, they were seen and chased by a Man of War, till a thick Mist providentially veiled them from the View of their Pursuers; and on the twenty-ninth they arrived at *Roscort*, near *Morlaix*, where *Ascanius* and his Friends landed.

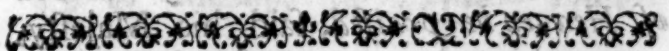
The Moment the young *Adventurer* set Foot on the *French* Shore, he fell on his Knees, and with a loud Voice gave God Thanks for his miraculous Deliverance from the Perils he had been in.—Both *Ascanius* and the Gentlemen his Followers made a wretched Appearance, their Apparel being all wore to Rags, and few of them had an Opportunity of new Clothing themselves after the fatal Battle of *Culloden*:—However they were soon equipp'd by the Gentlemen of *Morlaix* and Places adjacent. Upon the young *Adventurer's* Arrival at

*Paris, the King, tho' on that Day closely engaged in a grand Council, upon an extraordinary Occasion, immediately went out to meet him. May the God of Heaven be praised, said his Majesty, approaching ASCANIUS, for the exquisite Satisfaction I this Moment enjoy in beholding your R—H—. You have suffer'd much, my * * * * * you have acquired immortal Honour, and we trust you will one Day reap the Fruits of your extraordinary Merit.*

ADVENTURES



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ly engaged in a grand Council, upon
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APPENDIX

TO THE

ADVENTURES

OF

A S C A N I U S.





APPENDIX.

Number I.

Some Account of the misadventure of the young Adventurer in Scotland, after his Defeat near Inverness; being a Translation of two Letters, written originally in French, one of them by Alexander

himself.

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Introduction to the following Letters.

THE ensuing Letters having been generally received as genuine, I could not in Justice to my Readers deny them a Place in this Recital of the Adventures of the unfortunate Assassin, whose Distresses are here painted by his own Pencil, and that in such lively Colours, and placed in so natural, so true





APPENDIX.

Number I.

Some Account of the melancholy Situation of the young Adventurer in Scotland, after his Defeat near Inverness; being a Translation of two LETTERS, written originally in French, ONE of them by Ascanius himself.

Introduction to the following Letters.



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a Light, as justly claims the Attention of the Curious and Candid.

As to the Means by which these Letters came to make their Appearance in print, I refer the very inquisitive or doubtful Reader, who will not take my Word as to the Reception they have met with from the Publick, to the printed Copy of them, originally publish'd by *H. Carpenter in Fleet-street*, whose Consent I have obtained for their being inserted in this *Appendix*.

To Mr. *Carpenter's* Edition, which is now very scarce, is prefixed an Advertisement, signed by eight Gentlemen of undoubted Reputation in *Scotland*, giving an Account of these Letters, and the Means by which they fell into the Hands of the reverend Gentleman who made them publick. But this Account I have not copied, because of its Length, which would take up too much Room in this *Appendix*, and must either oblige me to swell the Work beyond the Limits I have prescribed to myself, or to leave out some other Particulars which I have yet to add, and which, I imagine will contribute more to the Satisfaction and Entertainment of my Readers in general. I shall however make some short Quotations from the above-mentioned Editor's

Introduction

Introduction, leaving my Reader's to remark on his Reasoning and Principles, as each of them shall be influenced, either by the apparent Evidence for or against the Point in Question, or by his particular Principles as a Party-man: Which, tho' not so impartial a Method, is I believe the most universally practised.

The above Editor tells us, ' that no one to whom he had shewn the Manuscript could discover who the Writer of the first Letter was; for there was neither Name, Date, nor Superscription to it: But all agreed that it must have been a rough Draught from which the finished Letter intended by the Writer to be sent to his Correspondent, was probably copied: For it was much blotted, many Expressions erased, with not a few Interlineations; so that it would have been difficult to have read it, so as to preserve a Connection of the Sense, had not the Hand been pretty good.'

The second Letter had neither Date, Subscription, nor Address, except the initial Letters prefixed to the Beginning. Some Gentlemen, (says the Editor,) have surmised that both the Papers might be a Contrivance, and left behind not thro' Hurry or Forgetfulness, but on purpose to lull us into a Security

' rity, which might facilitate another In-
 ' valion. He grounded this Conjecture
 ' on the Improbability of the *young Ad-*
 ' *venturer's* being convinced of the Inju-
 ' stice of his unfortunate Undertaking,
 ' and seeming to call in Question the
 ' Reasonableness and Rectitude of his
 ' Father's Claim to the *British* Crown, a
 ' Claim founded only on the exploded
 ' Principles of an indefeasible hereditary
 ' Right.'

To this our Editor answers, ' That
 ' as the *young Adventurer* easily might
 ' procure, and doubtless did procure,
 ' many of the antipapistical Sermons
 ' and Pamphlets against the *Stuart's*
 ' Pretensions, and in Support of the
 ' Parliament's Right occasionally to al-
 ' ter and settle the Succession agreeably
 ' to the Interest and Satisfaction of the
 ' People, so there can be nothing strange
 ' in his being convinced of the Badness
 ' of his Cause, (which, says the Editor,
 ' he might easily be, if he be a Man of
 ' Sense, and a tolerable Share of Inge-
 ' nuity of Mind) nor in his venturing to
 ' communicate his Thoughts to his Bro-
 ' ther. If during his Recess in the High-
 ' lands, he sometimes amused himself
 ' with reading what his Enemies wrote
 ' against him, his Dissatisfaction at his
 ' melancholy

melancholy Circumstances, the sound
 Arguments used by, and the great Re-
 putation of those, who, during the Re-
 bellion, distinguished themselves by
 their Discourses and Writings in De-
 fence of the Government, might alto-
 gether make a great Impression in his
 Mind, and contribute much towards
 the Opening of his Understanding, and
 shewing him those Truths which are
 so obvious to every impartial En-
 quirer.



LET.

LETTER I.

My Lord,

I Have his R—H—'s Or-
 ders to send you some Account of
 his present disagreeable Situation here,
 tho' God knows whether he is yet
 alive, or whether a Prisoner, or at
 Liberty, if it be proper to call such a
 State of Life as he hath lately passed
 through, a State of Liberty. For I
 have not seen him, nor heard a Word
 of him these three Days, but I hope
 to see him in two more. Mean Time,
 as I am but too much at Leisure, (be-
 ing oblig'd to keep close in an obscure
 Room in a lonely Cottage, for fear of
 a Discovery) I shall be the more dif-
 fuse in this Letter; tho' after all, I
 am in no small fear of its never reach-
 ing *Italy*, it being extreamly difficult
 to procure any one to carry so dange-
 rous a Charge into *England*, and here
 I now begin to despair of seeing any
 friendly Ship: Alas! *F—* is no lon-
 ger to be trusted, and *S—* is a broken
 Reed:—But of this doubtless you
 are already but too well apprised.

His

* His R. H. would have you acquaint
 * the * * his Father, that he wrote to
 * his Brother in F— on the 11th In-
 * stant, but does not look for an An-
 * swer ; I have Orders to send a Copy
 * of this Letter, which you are to com-
 * municate to his M——

* Happy had it been for his R. H.
 * had he never set his Foot in *Scotland* ;
 * for it will be almost a Miracle, if he
 * escape safe out of it. Few are the
 * Remains of his Friends here, and nu-
 * merous his Enemies. The Government,
 * indeed, seems not over solicitous to
 * secure his Person, but, whatever the
 * Court Reasons may be, some (unluckily
 * ignorant thereof, tho' not ignorant of
 * the great Price set on his Head) may
 * think of doing themselves and the State
 * a considerable Service by finding out
 * our Retreats, which, if very carefully
 * sought, would, I doubt not, be at length
 * discovered.

* Hitherto, God be praised, we have
 * happily escaped, tho' surrounded by
 * Enemies ; some of whom have more
 * than once enter'd the very Houses in
 * which we have been conceal'd, and
 * that within a few Hours after we
 * have left them. Nay, his R. H. hath
 * several Times beheld his Pursuers, and
 No. 10. U yet

yet providentially got clear of them.
 Various have been the Disguises we
 have had Recourse to for Safety, and
 which, under God, have been the im-
 mediate Means of effecting it. And
 on these Occasions his * * * hath dis-
 covered a Greatness of Soul far supe-
 rior to the most pungent Adversity.
 Instead of being drove to Despair, or
 in the least cast down, when on the
 Brink of the Pit he had the greatest
 Reason to dread falling into, he hath
 preserved a Composure of Mind, a
 Chearfulness of Heart, a Gaiety of
 Temper, at every new Instance of
 which I could not help being filled
 with Admiration, tho' a continual, a
 daily Witness of his heroic Behaviour
 in the most distressful Circumstances.
 When traversing the wild and lonely
 Desert, climbing the craggy Rock, or
 exploring the dark Recesses of the sub-
 terraneous Cavern, instead of bewail-
 ing his unkind Fortune, he hath often
 made himself merry with our Dis-
 guises; while himself personated by
 Turns the various Ranks and Charac-
 ters of the *Highlanders* of both Sexes.
 He is at present, I believe, in Quar-
 ters of Refreshment, in the House of
 a zealous and constant Friend, in the
 ' Ine

' Isle of * * * * *, where he is to wait
 ' for me; who dare not as yet quit my
 ' present Recess. And great need he
 ' hath of such a Relaxation, having
 ' lately endured such Fatigues as are
 ' hard to be imagined, and cannot be
 ' rightly conceived by one who hath
 ' never been in this dismal Country, and
 ' in the same forlorn Circumstances. He
 ' now repents of his Stay here, after the
 ' Principal of his Followers deserted
 ' him, and went over to the Continent.
 ' He had the same Opportunities, the
 ' same Vessels might have conveyed
 ' him hence, but he generously resolved
 ' not to abandon the poor faithful *High-*
 ' *landers*, while the least Ray of Hope
 ' that his Affairs could possibly be re-
 ' trieved was left. He knew that these
 ' unfortunate People, who for his Sake
 ' had involved themselves in their pre-
 ' sent unhappy Circumstances, could no
 ' longer hope for a Turn of Fortune's
 ' Wheel in their Favour, than while he
 ' remained among them, ready to catch
 ' the first Opportunity for repairing past
 ' Misfortunes.

' And such an Opportunity, alas!
 ' was too long expected here, through
 ' the fruitless Promises of those whose
 ' Interest it surely was to have performed

them. A few Men of War, and only
 six thousand Land Forces might have
 recovered all, especially in Case of a
 Diversion in the South. But even
 these, (tho' more were promised, if
 the Exigency of Affairs required them)
 are now no longer look'd for, nor so
 much as a twelfth Part of them. M

I cannot account for the Folly and
 Baseness of a certain Court; but may
 Heaven shower down its severest Ven-
 geance on those who wantonly sport
 with the distressed, and unconcernedly
 plunge an ill——s suffering Family
 into new and still greater Misfortunes;
 and this under the fallacious Pretence
 of retrieving the past: The Business is
 now done, his M—— hath play'd
 away his last Stake, and can never
 hope for such another Opportunity of
 asserting his Claim to the *British*
 Crown: The two Nations are now so
 absolutely, so invincibly prejudiced a-
 gainst the Catholick Religion, and so
 averse to being governed by a Catho-
 lick Prince, that if our Attempt should
 be renewed, we must only expect a
 still greater and more general Opposi-
 tion: And hence appears the sad Con-
 sequence of so ill supporting our late
 Undertaking. It should have been
 vigorously

' vigorously carried on by those who set
 ' it on foot, or it ought never to have
 ' been begun. For the Mortification
 ' consequent upon our ill Success, is still
 ' the more aggravated, as we are not in
 ' so good a Situation as before the fatal
 ' Project was brought to Execution. The
 ' Manner in which his M—— hath
 ' now attempted to recover his * * *,
 ' hath, I fear, destroyed every future
 ' Opportunity which Fortune might
 ' have in Store for him. By his Con-
 ' nections with the old and most invete-
 ' rate Enemies of *England*, and who are
 ' now at open War with her, and she
 ' perfectly satisfied of the Justice of her
 ' Cause, he hath only extended the Di-
 ' stance betwixt himself and the Affec-
 ' tions of not only the Kingdom of
 ' *England*, but those of *Scotland* and
 ' *Ireland* also. And as this Attempt
 ' hath been unsuccessful, though made
 ' in the most favourable Conjunction
 ' that could have been wish'd, or at
 ' least, (in Reason) hoped for, it will
 ' be in vain to repeat the Trial.

' The above are not only my Senti-
 ' ments, but those of his R. H. also;
 ' who hath had but too late experience
 ' of the little Interest his Family hath,
 ' or

for can we hope to raise in these King-
 doms. The People in general are well
 satisfied with the *Hanover* Family: the
 Clergy, even of the establish'd Church,
 not less so, than the Laity. The Ca-
 tholicks, though pretty numerous, are
 not at all forward to put themselves
 to the Expence and run the Hazard
 of ruining themselves by a new Trial
 for the Re-establishment of their Re-
 ligion in the *British* Dominions; es-
 pecially under a P—— of the un-
 fortunate House of *Stuart*; for such
 an one supposing him in Possession of
 the Throne, and acting with all ima-
 ginable Art and Address, would
 ever be distrusted by his Subjects,
 whose *Experience* must induce them to
 be always on their Guard: And hence
 it appears, that it would be impossible
 for such a P—— to accomplish this
 great End by any other Means than
 downright open Force; and of the
 Success of this desperate Method there
 is little Probability, for these Nations
 never will submit to be guided by
 Authority in Matters of Religion.
 This, (I am sorry that I can so truly
 say it) is the Effects of the ill-advised
 Conduct of his M—— Royal Pro-
 genitors;

'genitors; especially his late Majesty
 'King *James II.* who appears to have
 'had more Piety than Precaution; to
 'have been but too little acquainted
 'with the Genius and Temper of his
 'People, and to have made use of all
 'Means but the right, for securing the
 'Succession to his Posterity, and for
 'reconciling his Protestant Subjects to
 'the Catholick Church. And though
 'by Means of the Doctrines of passive
 'Obedience to, and Non-resistance of
 'the Prince's absolute Will and un-
 'bounded Prerogative, King *James I.*
 'and his Successors maintained a loyal
 'Party, which continued firmly at-
 'tach'd to them under all Circumstan-
 'ces, yet this Party was ever not much,
 'and has now become no better than a
 'Faction against the rest of their Coun-
 'trymen, who are by far the Majority
 'of the *British* Subjects, of whom the
 'former are not, I dare say a fifth
 'Part.

'This brings me to the Question,
 'whether such a Minority hath natu-
 'rally a Right to disturb or break the
 'Tranquility of the Majority, and force
 'them to live under a Government they
 'have abolish'd, and the Restoration of
 'which would inevitably prove incom-
 'pactable

• patable with the Conveniency, and
 • destructive to the well-being of the
 • Majority? I could with Pleasore ex-
 • press my Sentiments on this Head,
 • but shall defer it till, if Heaven per-
 • mit, I have the Happinefs of seeing
 • your Lordship.

• To conclude, the best that his R. H.
 • can now hope for, is to escape hence
 • with Life; and to content himself
 • for the Future with whatever Situation
 • it shall please God to place him in.
 • But I refer you to his R. H's. own
 • Letter for his Sentiments on this head.
 • I shall only further observe (though it
 • may be unnecessary to give your Lord-
 • ship the Hint) that *****
 • ***** I am, with the highest Es-
 • teem and Respect for your Lord-
 • ship,

Your Lordship's most

devoted Servant,

*A Copy of a Letter from the young
Adventurer to his Brother.**

M. D. B.†

AS I doubt not but you are long since acquainted with the unfortunate Turn of our Affairs, since my last dated at *Inverness*, so in this I shall not much trouble you with Advices concerning what is past, especially as you had the most important Particulars of the Action near *Inverness* and its Consequences in *M——*'s Letter, which went from hence in the Beginning of *May*. Therefore I shall confine myself chiefly to what more immediately regards *your* Preservation and Safety, which are, I again repeat to you of more Value to me than my own.

The few Friends and Adherents I have left in this Kingdom, I mean the few who dare openly appear and act as such, are in daily Expectation of your Arrival in some Part of *Scotland*, or in *England*, with a Force sufficient to retrieve our Affairs, or at least retard our

* The latter was at that Time in *France*.

† The Originals were *M. C. F. (i. e.) Mon Cher Frere*, in English *my dear Brother*.

Fate. Indeed the last Advices I had from you, as well as those from the Duke de B——n, once gave me Reason to expect that such a Step would be taken by that Court which I will never trust again, yet now, believe me, (tho' I dare not speak my Mind here, for obvious Reasons) I neither look for nor desire it. However as his most Christian Majesty may be induced to make another Attempt, meerly by the hopes of distressing *England*, exclusive of any Regard to our Interest; and as he may employ you in it with a View of securing our Friends in that Kingdom, I think it incumbent on me to warn you not to be drawn into the Snare, into the same Gulph of Ruin in which I am plunged.

As I am almost certain that a fresh Invasion cannot succeed, so doubtless you cannot expect to gain either Honour or Profit by being concerned in it. And as the Danger with respect to your own Person must undoubtedly be eminent, why should you plunge yourself into it? Let those who may have some Prospect of Advantage by it, or who are forced to obey the Voice of Authority, embark in such desperate Schemes, let such alone undergo the Danger. You may

may be killed, taken or wounded. Grant this, and you must confess you venture a large Stake. And what do you lay against? Nothing but a Commander's Pay, and that I hope you don't absolutely stand in need of. If you are actuated by a Desire of contributing all in your Power towards extricating me out of my present Distresses, I must insist on your abandoning all Thoughts of that Nature.

One of my chief Inducements for remaining here after being deserted by the Principal of my Followers, was to wait the ultimate Issue of Things. and to lay hold of any, even the smallest Opportunity for retrieving our Affairs; but such I have never met with, nor do I now expect. The *Scots*, on whom I have hitherto chiefly depended, are far from being so generally well-affected to us as they have been represented. Their dread of the Catholick Religion is, I find, the greatest Obstacle to a hearty Reconciliation with our Family. How much Reason they have for this I need not observe to you. The Majority of their Clergy, greatly alter'd from what they were in my Grand Father's Days, filled with Apprehensions for their Kirk, and having an Abhorrence of the Church

of *Rome* instilled into them in their Infancy, and this increasing as they grow in years, have exerted themselves and made it their main Business to depreciate our Religion, and represent his Holiness of *Rome*, as the greatest Monster on the Face of the Earth. They are no less industrious in decrying the Principles upon which our Father claims the Crown of his Ancestors. His Right of Succession they tell us hath no Existence, but in the mistaken Notions imbibed by some People in a wrong Education, Hereditary indefeasible Right is ridiculed, laugh'd out of Doors, and confounded with absolute Power. And so reasonable do their Arguments appear that 'tis no Wonder the People are influenced by them, since, (for I think I ought truly to speak my Mind to you) I myself have been in some Measure sensible of their Force.

In *England* our Affairs are still in a worse Situation. There the Pulpit hath incessantly thunder'd, and the Press hath taken Arms against us. Both Clergy and Laity are united in the same Cause, which they stile the Cause of God and their Country, the Cause of Liberty, the Defence of Property: For they all seem perswaded that the most abject Slavery

very would infallibly be their Lot, if a *Stuart* should reign over them. — Nor can I blame their Distrust, when I reflect on the Experience they have had of what they now so much dread.

'Tis true we had and still have many Friends in both Kingdoms, but those in *Scotland* have not the Ability to make their Services equal their Zeal, and those in *England* are not to be depended on. Even while I was personally among them, they hardly offer'd to strike a Blow, or speak a Word for me. There were not four hundred Swords nor hardly one Pen drawn in my Behalf throughout the whole Nation. From hence it is evident that not only the Hearts but the Understandings of all but an inconsiderable Number of the People, are prejudiced in Favour of the House of *Hanover*. That as our Friends durst not take Arms for us, so they could not give the World one solid Reason to prove that it would be right to do so. As for the negative Arguments contained in the Manifestos I published, they have produced little Effect, or rather have had no good Consequence at all.

Instead of being received as the Son of their lawful King, as one who might hereafter reign over them, as their future

ture Ruler, Guardian and Protector, the *Britons* looked on me as the Invader, the mortal Enemy of their Country, as one come to destroy their civil and religious Liberties, to rule them with a Rod of Iron, and to make them equally miserable with those Nations which yet with some Reason they look down upon as Objects of their Pity and Contempt; and while consider'd in this light, 'tis no Wonder I met with no greater Success, but amazing that I ever met with so much.

In short, from the Highest to the Lowest, both the Clergy and Laity of all Ranks, the Members of every Church but that of *Rome*, are more than ever prepossess'd against us; and I fear it is impossible for them ever to be reclaimed.

Indeed I cannot but own that 'tis a great Hardship upon any People to be invaded, and expos'd to the Miseries of an intestine War, for the Sake only of a single Person or Family, in whose Elevation or Depression they may be very little interested. That this is the Case with Regard to our late Attempt, is not to be questioned. The *British* Nations are well enough satisfied with the Person they have chosen to reign
over

over them. And what Right hath a Stranger to force himself upon them, to extort their Obedience, to manage their Affairs, to guard their Religion, Liberties, and Laws (for this is undoubtedly the Sum of the regal Authority) and all this without their Consent, against their Approbation, and after a vast Expence of their Blood and Treasure, spent in defending themselves against his Efforts to force their Submission. But the Appearance of Injustice is still greater, when the People, instead of being assured that the Person, who would obtrude himself upon them, instead of securing to them their civil and religious Liberties, will in all human Probability, subvert their Laws, take away their Liberties, and not only destroy their Religion, but force upon them that which of all others they most abhor, and to which rather than subscribe, great Numbers would undergo the most cruel Tortures, and the most painful Deaths.

What am I, that I should attempt to deprive a free People of the Happiness of living under such a Government as they are satisfied with? That Nature gave them the Liberty of chusing for themselves, they have proved by demonstrative

monstrative Arguments, and that this Liberty is secured by their Laws is known to all the World. Is my enjoying a regal Title, and a Princely Revenue, of so much Consequence to the People of three Kingdoms, that they should suffer me with hostile Arms to break in upon their Peace and Tranquility; to sow Discord among whole Nations, united together under one Government, and in one common Interest; put them upon burning one anothers Houses, plundering and desolating their Estates and cutting each other's Throats? On the other Hand, while I am content with what Providence shall permit to enjoy without Violence, all the Horrors and Devestations above are prevented, and the People quietly enjoy their Lives and Properties.

I pray God that I be not hereafter called to a severe reckoning for the many innocent Lives lost, the Rivers of Blood shed on our Account. All the Consolation I have in this gloomy Recess, (where I have sufficient Time to brood over past Errors and Misfortunes) is the Consideration that I have not been the Principal in the Mischiefs I was concerned in: That I have been the passive Instrument of an Authority which I thought

thought myself oblig'd to obey ; and that I knew not (on my Entrance into the late fatal Undertaking) what I did.

But now I have ample Time for Reflection. My youthful Heats and Thoughtlessness have been severely corrected by the hard and heavy Hand of Adversity. And as I have not the Ability, so, I thank God, neither have I the Inclination to proceed in an Enterprize which I am perswaded hath drawn down the Wrath of Heaven upon me. I hope my Sufferings will in some Measure be an Attonement for me ; and yet, alas ! though many and grievous beyond Imagination have been the Hardships I have undergone, what Proportion will such a Punishment bear to the Mischiefs in which I have been so greatly instrumental ? Will the Correction of one unhappy Wretch satisfy the offended Lord and Father of the World, for all the Havock, the Slaughter, the Desolation of Countries, and the Distress of Innocent Families, that hath attended our Undertaking ? I fear not ! If I have deserved my Sufferings, how great are the Demerits of these whose Power and Authority were the Springs that guided all my Motions ? God be merciful

ciful to those, who, I hope, have yours
as they daily have my most earnest
Prayers.

De sunt Cateræ.

N. B. The foregoing Letter broke off
abruptly, which doubtless was with De-
sign, as it appears to be only a Copy
from the Original, which, probably went
to France.——If the whole be ge-
nuine, which tho' I really believe, I
cannot positively assert; having not
seen the Gentlemen who sent the MSS.
from Scotland, and consequently have
only their Testimony under their Hands,
joined to the Evidence, the Marks of Au-
thenticity which appear in the Papers
themselves; but this I submit to the Rea-
der: Time may perhaps give us some fur-
ther insight into the Affair, which may
prove to be of no small Importance to these
Kingdoms. If any satisfactory Intelligence
can be timely procured, the Publick may
depend upon a Communication thereof in
the next Edition of this Work.



Good Family, but much re-
duced from its former Afflu-
ence of Fortune. His Parents
being very desirous of his making a Figure
in the World, for which his forward Ge-
nius soon discovered that he was naturally
well qualified, but yet unable himself



APPENDIX.

Number II.

Remarks on the Conduct and Characters of some of the principal Persons who appeared in the Interest of the young Adventurer, in the Time of the late Rebellion in Scotland.

CHARACTER I.

Some Memoirs of Mr. Sullivan, the great Favourite of the young Adventurer.



HIS Gentleman was born in the North of *Ireland*, of a good Family, but much reduced from its antient Affluence of Fortune. His Parents being very desirous of his making a *Figure* in the *World*, for which his forward Genius soon discovered that he was naturally well qualified; but yet unable themselves

to

to introduce him upon the *great Stage*, on any other Footing than that of an extraordinary *Education*; they spared no Expence their small Estate would admit of, to make him a complete Gentleman, in every Respect, but that of a large Fortune, which they thought it would be his Business to acquire, after they had furnished him with such ample Means. Accordingly, being Roman Catholics, they sent this their only Son, at the Age of nine Years, to *Paris*, the best Place in the World for the Education of Youth, not only for the Sake of Cheapness, and the excellent Methods the *French* have of teaching Children every Thing that can be taught, but on Account of the great Sobriety of Manners, the Strictness of Morals, and the early Notions of Religion and Piety, which the Tutors are remarkably careful to inculcate.

At fifteen Years of Age Mr. *Sullivan* went to *Rome*, where his Education received a different Turn, and concluded in his being ordained an Ecclesiastick. After entering into Priest's Orders he returned into *Ireland*, whither he was called by the Death of his Father. His Stay in that Island was not long, not intending to settle there, and having no Relations to take Care of, his Mother dying while he was at *Paris*, he sold his Estate, and went

went again into *France*, where soon after his Arrival he had the good Fortune to be recommended to Marshal *Maillebois*, by whom he was retained as a domestick Tutor to his Son.

It was not long e'er the Marshal, perceiving in him some Symptoms of a Genius better adapted to the Sword than to the Gown, encouraged him rather to apply himself to the former than the latter Profession. This Advice was well relished by our young *Reverend*, he followed it, and that with such Success, that attending the Marshal to *Corfica*, when the *French* attempted to deprive the poor but brave Inhabitants of that little Island of their Liberties, he acted as Secretary to that General.

Maillebois, who was a *Bon vivante*, and used constantly to get drunk every Day after Dinner, was almost incapable of Business the greater Part of the twenty-four Hours; so that during the whole Time of this General's Stay on the Isle of *Corfica*, all the Weight of the War, and the whole Power devolved on Mr. *Sullivan*, who executed it in such a Manner as derived great Honour both to himself and his Patron: In short, here he gained a very high Reputation for his military Accomplishments in general, but more par-

particularly for his Knowledge in what is call'd the Art of making irregular War.

After finishing the Conquest of *Corsica*, Marshal *Maillebois* returning to *France*, carried Mr. *Sullivan* with him into that Kingdom; in which however he did not tarry long, but going into *Italy* made one Campaign there, and the next Year he served the King of *France* in another upon the *Rhine*. Here he acquired so much Fame among his most Christian Majesty's Generals, that one of them mentioning him in a Letter to M. de *Argenson*, says, ' That he (Mr. *Sullivan*) understood the *irregular* Art of War better than any other Man in *Europe*; nor was his Knowledge in the *regular* much inferior to that of the best General then living.'

Being at *Paris* in the Beginning of the Year forty-five, when *Ascanius* came there to consult with the *French* Court on Measures for the intended Expedition into *Scotland*, Mr. *Sullivan* (whose Abilities and the Manner in which he had distinguished himself in the Service of his most Christian Majesty had recommended him to the particular Notice of that Monarch) was by the Royal Appointment nominated to accompany the young *Adventurer*, to assist him with his Counsel,

Counsel, and to act as a general Officer in the future Northern Army.

While the Preparations for the *Scotch Expedition* were going on, Mr. *Sullivan* had the Honour of conversing daily with *Ascanius*, who soon contracted such an Esteem for him, that he was never easy but when this agreeable *Irishman* was with him: Indeed no one who knows Mr. *Sullivan*, can deny his being one of the best-bred, genteelest, complaisant, engaging Officer in all the *French Troops*, which in these Respects are certainly inferior to none in *Europe*. To these external Accomplishments were added, and *Ascanius* soon perceived them in Mr. *Sullivan*, a Sincerity of Heart, and an honest Freedom of both Sentiment and Speech, tempered with so much good Nature and Politeness, as made his Conversation and Friendship equally useful and agreeable. But if *Ascanius* was highly pleased with Mr. *Sullivan*, the latter thought himself no less happy in the Regard paid him by the former, to whom in return, he passionately desired to render all the Service his Abilities, strengthened by the Favour of the grand Monarch, were possibly capable of rendering: Of this the young Adventurer was well satisfied; and he on the other hand

expected

expected no small Things from the good Sense, the solid Judgment, the political Knowledge, and the military Skill of Mr. *Sullivan*. Nor was he deceived either in the Prosecution or the End of his famous Expedition: For to the Abilities of this Gentleman we are chiefly to attribute the Success with which the unexperienced *Ascanius*, with a handful of raw Highlanders, so long maintained a sharp, and for some time doubtful Dispute with the whole Force of his Britannick Majesty, in the Course of which he so surprizingly over-un and (as far as he pleased) plundered not only the major Part of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, but also a great Part of the rich and powerful Nation of *England* itself: A Nation which is, or might be, the Terror and Arbitress of all *Europe*!

But this great Spring and first or chief Mover of all the adventuring Army's Motions, like that of a Clock or Watch (which animates and moves the whole Machine) was unseen, and all its Operations unperceived by the gross of *Ascanius*'s Followers. Mr. *Sullivan*'s Authority and Influence over the young Adventurer, as the automatical Spring in its Box, was so closely concealed from the Eye of the World, that none but the
most

most prying, curious, artful of the Highland Chiefs, and those that were the most entrusted, and as it were let into the Mystery, knew how greatly this Gentleman was favoured and confided in both by *Ascanius* and the *French* Government. Tho' in Fact he was the ***** General, yet he never openly acted as such; all his Advice was given in Secret, and his Orders never came directly from himself: While he did all, *Ascanius* appeared as the principal, and in his Name was every Thing transacted.

The Reason of all this was the Jealousy and Pride of the Highlanders, who, as *Ascanius* soon perceived, would never submit to be guided and directed by any body but himself; and this the more especially as they soon found that as the *French* were greatly remiss in sending over the promised Troops of that Nation, so his chief Dependance lay upon the *Scots*, and that if they should desert him, he must infallibly be ruined. Hence they were puffed up with the highest Ideas of their own Importance to their young Leader, and took it mighty ill that any one else should share in his Favour, or partake of his Smiles. Had the King of *France* indeed sent a considerable Body of Troops over to *Scotland*, and had

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Mr.

Mr. Sullivan acted as Commander of them, the Scots would then doubtless have paid him more Respect, but, as it was, they looked on him only as a private Gentleman, of no more Merit, and of less Importance to *Ascanius* than themselves; yet (as they at length closely found out) engrossing all his Favour and Confidence. This roused their Jealousy, and excited their Enmity towards the Favourite to such a Degree, as in the End proved of bad Consequence to the whole Party; for Divisions and Animosities springing up among them, they became less ardent in the Service of their *Leader*, consequently weak in proportion; and then followed the utter Ruin of a Body of Men who could not have been so easily subdued, had they been more firmly united among themselves; I lay among *themselves*; because the *Scotch* Chiefs were not only jealous of the *Irish* Favourite, but of one another, each looking on the other as his Rival in the young *Adventurer's* Favour, each unwilling to subserve the others Elevation, and some of them, perhaps, chusing rather to hazard the Destruction of the whole Party by their Remissness in contributing all in their Power to support it.



Character of **Mr. SHERRIDAN,**
Preceptor to **ASCANIUS.**

THIS Gentleman was also a Roman Catholic, born in the North of Ireland. His Father had the Command of a Troop of Horse in the Army which King *James II.* commanded in Person, in that Kingdom, after having been forced to Abandon *England* to the Prince of *Orange*, afterwards *William III.* The Captain was killed at the memorable Battle of the *Boyne*, which also decided the Fate of King *James*, obliging him to fly that Kingdom likewise, which he did immediately after the Battle.

Among those who at that fatal Crisis attended the Person of this unfortunate Monarch, was Mr. *Thomas Sherridan*, Son to the Captain, a promising Youth of about Sixteen. The King had promised his Father to take Care of the Boy, and he was the more willing to keep his Word, as he was very fond of him: I

am not certain under what Denomination he at this Time passed in the King's Houshold, but believe was ranked as a Page, or something of that kind.

Mr. *Sheridan* lived with King *James* at *St. Germain's* 'till that unhappy Prince died there; afterwards he was still retained in the Family by the *Chevalier*, who upon this Declaration of the *French* Court in his Favour, assumed the Title of King of *Great Britain*.

Not having much Employment at the Court of *St. Germain's*, Mr *Sheridan* improved his leisure by reading, and made a great progress in *Mathematicks* and *Moral Philosophy*. His literary Accomplishments, joined to his great Sobriety, good Sense, and fine Behaviour, gained him a still greater share of the *Chevalier's* Esteem, than he had of the late King's; and after the ruined Remains of the *Stuart's* Family went to reside at *Rome*, the *Chevalier* appointed Mr. *Sheridan* to be Tutor or Preceptor to his eldest Son, the renowned *Ascanius*, then but an Infant. In this Post he acquitted himself not only to the full Satisfaction of the *Chevalier*, but to the great Delight as well as Improvement of his Pupil also, who contracted such an esteem for his Preceptor, that he chose never

never to be without him? nor could his Father prevail with him to leave Mr. *Sheridan* behind, when he undertook his *Scotch Expedition*. For the *Chevalier* out of Regard to this Gentleman's declining Age and growing Infirmities, would have had him remain at *Rome*. But *Ascanius* who had been used to consult Mr. *Sheridan* on all Occasions, and could not think of entering upon any Action of Consequence without his Advice, foreseeing the many Occasions he should have for him, during the Prosecution of his approaching Enterprize, resolved to carry him with him, nor was the latter, who tenderly loved his Pupil, at all averse to the accompanying him, and sharing his Fate, let it prove never so adverse. This Gentleman together with Mr. *Sullivan*, was one of the very few who landed with *Ascanius* at his Arrival in *Scotland* from *France*. But he never concerned himself with the Management of that great Affair upon which his Pupil came into this Island, any further than just to give his Opinion concerning such Transactions as more immediately concerned the young *Adventurer's* own Person, from which he never cared to be separated tho' but for half an Hour: Nor was it with-

out

out great Uneasiness on both Sides that *Ascanius* and his Preceptor parted, after the fatal Battle of *Culloden*, see P. 136. Book II. after which they saw each other no more 'till they met again in *France*.

Tho' Mr. *Sheridan* had the Happiness of escaping out of *Scotland* much sooner than *Ascanius*, yet his Health was so greatly impaired by the Fatigues and Hardships he underwent during his stay in that Country after the young *Adventurer's* Defeat, that before he got to *Paris* he found himself in a very dangerous Way, and in short plainly perceived the unavoidable Approach of Death. Nevertheless, tho' extreamly desirous of seeing *Rome* and the *Chevalier* once more before he died, yet he resolved to wait in *France* as long as the Tyrant, Death, would permit him, in hopes of seeing his beloved *Ascanius* arrive there in Safety, before he quitted this World. Herein Providence granted his Desire, and in a few Days after the young *Adventurer's* Arrival from *Scotland*, Mr. *Sheridan* set out for *Rome*, where he had hardly Time to pay his Duty to the *Chevalier*, before he died, greatly lamented by all his Acquaintance.

Character

our great Uneasiness on both Sides that
 Ascanius and his Preceptor parted, after



The Mr. Stewart had the Happiness
 of escaping out of Scotland much sooner

Character of **JOHN MURRAY,**
of Broughton, Esq; late Se-
cretary to ASCANIUS.

MR. Murray, now a Prisoner in the
 Tower of London, was born at
 Edinburgh, in the Year 1717, and edu-
 cated at the University in that City. His
 Father was Sir David Murray, Bart.
 whose second Lady (the Secretary's Mo-
 ther) was the Daughter of Sir William
 Scot of Ancram, Bart. This Lady out-
 living Sir David took great Care of her
 Son's Education, gave him the best that
 Scotland could afford, and at last sent
 him abroad for farther Improvement.

In 1741, he went into France, where
 he perfected himself in the Language of
 that Country. From France he proceed-
 ed to Italy, having a greater Desire to
 see the ancient Capital of the World
 than any other Place in Europe. He had
 pretty well learnt the Italian Language
 before,

before, so that he easily made himself absolute Master of it while he staid at *Rome*. I mention these Particulars to shew how well, in the Article of Languages, he was qualified for the Post he afterwards held under *Ascanins*.

Hitherto Mr. *Murray*, who had been bred up in the Principles of the Church of *England*, had no Thought of embarking in that Party for which he has since suffered so much, and must perhaps yet suffer much more. But he had not been long at *Rome*, e'er he contracted an Acquaintance with an *English* Gentleman, who occasioned his taking a slight Step which indirectly drew him within the Notice of the *Chevalier de St. George's* Family, of whose Party he was soon after easily induced to become a zealous Member.

The Gentleman above mentioned, one Day asking Mr. *Murray* if he had ever seen *Santi Apostoli*, (the *Chevalier's* Palace) and Mr. *Murray* replying in the Negative, the other told him that he would carry him there. That he was acquainted with several of the Domestic's who would shew him all the Apartments; and, added he, if you have a Mind we will go at the Time of Divine Service, and you may

Z

other

other Portents and old Prophecies) might perhaps have some share in exciting him to that rash Enterprize he afterwards undertook. However this be, his Ill-Success is sufficient (even if we had no other Evidence of the Stupidity of these Things) to convince every Body of the Folly of placing any Dependence upon Omens.—Nevertheless this Story being solemnly attested, and the two Bits of the Cieling shewn him, it made a surprizing Impression on Mr. Murray's Mind, and he could not help owning, with the Rest of the *Chevalier's* Friends, that possibly the fall of the *Rose* and *Thistle* might be a Prognostic of the future good Fortune of *Ascanius*.

Mr. Murray frequently renewed his Visits to *Santi Apostoli*, where he as frequently heard such great Encomiums on the *Chevalier* and his Sons, both for their natural and acquired Virtues and Accomplishments, that he grew impatient for their Return from *Albano*, that he might have an Opportunity of judging, by what he could see, of the Truth of what he had heard. Nor was it long before he was gratified; and in short, was introduced to *Ascanius* and his Brother; after which he had frequent private Conferences with the former, by
whose

whose handsome Person and affable Behaviour he was unhappily betwitched, if I may use the Expression. — Thus began that fatal and inviolable Attachment, from which no Consideration hath since been able to make him swerve.

As Mr. *Murray's* Accomplishments rendered him very agreeable to the *Chevalier's* Sons, he became an every Day Guest at *Santi Apostoli*, and at length an Inhabitant there, and greatly caressed even by the *Chevalier* himself. This excited his Gratitude to such a Degree, that he thought the Service of his whole Life, and even Life itself, scarce an Equivalent for the Condescensions he received.

That *Ascanius* should one Day make an Attempt for reviving his *Father's* Interest in *Scotland*, was resolved in 1742 ; and then it was that the *Chevalier* declared his eldest Son, Regent of that Kingdom, and Mr. *Murray* was at the same Time appointed Secretary to the young *Adventurer*. The same Year our new Secretary was sent to *Paris*, to consult with Mr. *Kelly*, (formerly Secretary to Dr. *Atterbury*, Bishop of *Rochester*) who was negotiating the Affair at the Court of *France*. From hence he went to *Scotland*, to found how far the Heads of the Clans might be depended on. Many of these he had the Satisfaction to find

in the Disposition he had wished and hoped to find them in. Those who were less inclined to his Party, he was most indefatigable in working upon to gain over, and herein he was strenuously seconded by *Lochiel, Glenbucket, Macclaugblan, Glengarry, Keppack, Kinlochmoidart, Stuart of Appin, and the Mackenzies*. These Chiefs all signed a Paper, in which they promised to assist the Invasion, whenever and in whatsoever manner it should be made, with all the Forces in their Power.

Before he left *Scotland* again, he married a young Lady every way worthy of him, and had the Pleasure of making her a Convert to his new Principles, she having been educated in those of the Kirk. Her Fortune, tho' not very large, was however of no inconsiderable Advantage to Mr. *Murray*, whose Estate, he being but a younger Brother, exceeded not 400 Pounds a Year.

Soon after the Birth of his first Child (a Son) he received Dispatches from *Rome*, ordering him directly into *England*, where he would meet with Lord *Elcho* and some others, who had Letters to several Persons in that Kingdom. Accordingly Mr. *Murray* and Lord *Elcho* met at *London*, where they were often seen together, and in Company also with one of those Gentlemen lately

ly executed on *Kennington Common*, and some others who are now safe abroad.

After passing eleven Months in *England*, *Murray* returned to *Scotland*, as *Elcho* did to *France*; and in the Beginning of the Year 1745, the former was recalled to *Rome*, but was ordered to acquaint the Clans before his Departure, that the great Design was now on the Point of being executed. This he punctually obeyed, and then left *Scotland*, and his Wife big of her second Child. However, soon after *Ascanius* arrived in *France*, Mr. *Murray* was sent back to *Scotland*, to make further Preparations for his young Master's Reception there; and in a few Weeks after *Ascanius* himself embarked, and landed in the *Highlands*. See p. 10.

B. I.

During the Prosecution of the young *Adventurer's* Enterprize, the continual Fatigues of Mind and Body that his Secretary Underwent, threw him into a bad State of Health, which however did not hinder him from a close Application to Business, even when scarce able to hold a Pen in his Hand. Nature was, however, at last compelled to yield, and he grew so extreamly ill, that when the Battle of *Culloden* was fought, he was confined to a Litter, as he had been for a Fortnight before. In the Heat of this Battle, *Ascanius* perceiving that his Ar-
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my was irrecoverably routed, he rode up to the Secretary's Litter, and said to him ' *Murray*, I am undone, and therefore do you quit the Field directly! The other obeying, fled, with all the Expedition one in his wretched Circumstances could make, towards *Fort-Augustus*, and stopped at *Aird*, whither the young *Adventurer* himself came at Night.

The next Morning he would have accompanied *Ascanius* in his Flight for *Locharbar*, but was so very ill that he could not set out early enough in the Morning. However, mustering up all his Strength, he followed about two Hours after, but had not proceeded far, e'er a Servant from *Aird* overtook him, with advice, that a Party of the Enemy were following, and would be up with him presently, if he did not quit the great Road. Hereupon, weak as he was, he got out of the Litter, ordering his Servants to go with it far from the Place where he then was, lest it should betray him to the Enemy, as it would be no easy Matter to hide it: His Servants obeyed, and he never heard more of them. Mean Time he sheltered himself for the present in a hollow Place at the Foot of a Mountain, resolving rather to die for want of Subsistence than become a Prisoner, if he could any way avoid it. — What Hardships he was now exposed

exposed to are impossible to be conceived, much less described, but any one may imagine them to be great. — Wandering from Mountain to Mountain, without any Sustenance to support Nature ; no Bed, Couch, nor any Thing to rest upon ; no Covering to protect him from the Inclemency of the Air ; oppressed with the most poignant Grief of Heart, and also disabled by Sickness from struggling with all these various Miseries. For eight and forty Hours he remained in this wretched Condition, 'till finding the Coast pretty clear, he ventured to go to the House of a Gentleman in whose Friendship he had great Confidence, and with whom he tarried three Days ; but was then forced to seek another *Asylum*, the Enemy's Parties having begun to search every House in that Part of the Country. Mr. M——, the next Friend with whom he sheltered himself, lived near Sixteen Miles from the House of the former Gentleman, so that Mr. *Murray* ran great Hazards in shifting his Quarters. However, he got safe to Mr. M——'s, where he was treated with the greatest Tenderness, had all Remedies proper for his Disorder, and in a short Time recovered his Strength of Body in a most surprizing Manner, considering who deeply his Mind must be affected with the sad Change of his Circumstances.

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He continued with this other kind Friend five Weeks, and had done so longer, had not he received Advice of a Party of Dragoons being ordered that Way, with Directions to examine every House they came nigh. Again he betook himself to Flight, tho' he hardly knew whither to go next, or which way to turn himself. — It would be too tedious to relate the many Dangers and Hardships he went thro' after he left Mr M—'s; wandering sometimes one Way, sometimes another, to avoid being seen by any of the several Parties which were then traversing the Country round in search of *Ascanius*, who was thought to be still in those Parts. — At last (by long and painful Journeys, mostly performed in the Night, and attended with a thousand Difficulties) he got safe to the Seat of the Lady of *Pimroude*, his Sister. And now he began to think himself pretty much out of Danger, those Parts having already been thoroughly ransack'd, and in all Probability would not be expos'd to a Re-search: But so it happened (as frequently we are nearest Danger when we think ourselves most secure) that a few straggling Soldiers by some Means or other having Intelligence of him, entered the House, took him in his Bed, and conducted him to *Edinburgh*, from whence he was sent under a strong Guard to *London*, where

where he has ever since been strictly confined in the Tower, none of his Friends, not even his Mother, being permitted to see him.

Remarks on the Character of James Drummond, Esq; commonly called Duke of Perth.

THOUGH this noble Person had for some Time been suspected by the Government before the Rebellion broke out, and tho' Measures were taken to apprehend him as soon as ever it was known that *Ascanius* was actually landed in Scotland, yet the D—e was so expeditious in joining the *Adventurers*, that he eluded the Vigilance of those who would have prevented his Journey to the Town of *Perth*; where he met the young *Adventurer*, on his first coming to that Place. See p. 12. B. 1.

He was never reckoned a Person of much Activity, or any considerable Abilities, till he called forth his latent Talents for the Service of that Family, to which he had ever been zealously attach'd, and for which Attachment his *own* had been ruined.

His Zeal for his Party however exceeded his Abilities to serve it; not that his Services were inconsiderable, but his Zeal was exceeding great; so great indeed that sometimes it was productive of more Harm to his Friends than Benefit. He was bold in Council,

Council, but hasty, and impatient of Contradiction: He knew that his Opinion, was generally Right; but then he thought it impossible that he should ever be in the Wrong: And as unluckily it so happened that he frequently differed in Sentiment from the Majority of those who composed the Council of *Ascanius*, so he seldom failed to maintain his Opinion very dogmatically, and in so imperious a Manner as generally disgusted his Opponents, and sometimes bred ill Blood as well as Dissentions among them.

But tho' he was sometimes too forward in pushing such Measures as himself thought proper, when others thought otherways, yet it was generally found, that in the Main he was far from wanting Judgment in what he took upon himself to manage or to understand: And in short, what with his Zeal for the Cause he was embarked in, what with his resolute Activity, and what with the Habit he had contracted of declaiming fluently upon all Occasions, he acquired no small Reputation, not only among his own Party, but the Friends of the Government also. As a Proof of this, I need only refer to the Reception the two Speeches which have appeared in Print under his Name have met with from the Publick, few doubting their being genuine, and none disputing their being very consistent with the supposed Speaker's

Speaker's Character and Talents. I shall present the Reader with an Extract of them, not only because they may give some Insight into the D—'s Character (for, as I have said, whether genuine or not, every Body allows that his G—e's Genius and Manner shine visibly through them) but because they contain a lively Delineation of the young *Adventurer's* real Circumstances at the Time of his invading *England*.—But, by the Way, I must premise, as my own private Opinion, that though his G——e doubtless might deliver the Substance of these two Speeches in the Councils of War held at *Brampton* and *Derby*, yet, very probably, when committed to the Press, they were extended to a greater Length than the Originals, and the Language corrected by another Hand.

Extract of the D—— of P——'s Speech at a Council of War held at Brampton near Carlisle, in Presence of Ascanius, after his first Appearance before that City, and Retreat from it, on the Garrison's refusing to capitulate.

“I cannot help expressing my Concern to see so much Heat and Animosity prevail in this honourable Assembly; but this Concern I want Words to express, when I reflect on the great Reason we have to be discontented with our present Situation,
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and alarmed at the Danger into which we are now plunged,

Our Hopes before your R. H's Arrival in *Scotland*, were raised to the highest Pitch: We flattered ourselves that your H—— would have appeared backed by a numerous and well supplied Army; their Number we were made to believe would not be less than 16000 Men, and those of the best Troops in *France*. These were solemnly promised us by Mr. *Kelly*, when with us last Spring; but when the Time came, how were we disappointed! Your R. H. landed with a Retinue so small as might well have discouraged your faithful Clans from joining you, which, however, they eagerly did, being still persuaded that the promised Succours would certainly arrive before there could be any Occasion of coming to an Action. When I had the Honour of joining you at *Perth*, I was then assured that the *French* were actually embarked, and waited only a fair Wind: That a considerable Insurrection would presently appear in several Parts of *England*; the Places were particularly mentioned, as were the Names of several considerable *Englishmen*; said to have engaged to declare openly for us. We were assured that his most Christian Majesty would detain the *English* Forces in *Flanders*, and hinder the *Dutch* from sending any Troops to *Great Britain*:

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But how have we been disappointed in every one of these Articles!

The *French* King, instead of declaring openly for us, ordered his Minister at the *Hague* peremptorily to assure the States that he had no Hand in the Don *Quixote* Expedition, as he termed your R. H's Undertaking. In consequence of this, the *Dutch*, without Molestation, have sent over 6000 of their Forces to fight against us, tho' every Man of them might have been kept at Home, by the King of *France's* declaring your R. F. his Ally.—Neither was the Promise of detaining the *English* Forces any better performed. The *French* had it in their Power to hinder them from returning to *England*; and if I am not very ill informed, they might have made most of them Prisoners. But they were allowed to embark at *Williamstadt*, without Interruption, and are now almost all landed without the Loss of a Transport, notwithstanding the *French* were in possession of *Ostend*.

As to our Hopes from the *English*, they have been as delusive as *French* Promises. Instead of Multitudes declaring for us, we have hitherto heard of nothing but Associations against us in all Parts of *England*. In short, I think we may now finally conclude that *English* Assistance is not to be depended upon: To what Purpose then proceed we any farther into their Country?

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The Enemy are far superior to us in Number, and well supplied with all Necessaries, while we are almost destitute of every thing. Your faithful Highlanders will fight for you with all the Zeal and Courage imaginable; but shall we lead these brave Men to certain Destruction? Were the Enemy more equal to us in Number, we might have some Hopes of Success; but while they are above five to one, I should think myself guilty of the grossest Barbarity, should I give my Vote for proceeding any further into *England*, 'till such of this Nation as we are told have promised to declare for the Cause, have actually joined us. Mean time, I propose that we return to *Carlisle*, and attempt to possess that City; the taking of it may give some Reputation to our Arms, and encourage the *English* to join us if they have any such Intention; if they have not, we must then make as good a Retreat back to the Highlands as we can, there to disperse our unhappy Followers, and shift for ourselves in some foreign Country, where there is more Faith than in either *France* or *England*."

The D— of P—'s Speech at a general Council of War held at Derby, Dec. 5. 1745.

"I T is easy to imagine what Pleasure I take in reflecting on the Success which has hitherto attended our dangerous March

March from the Northern to the Midland Parts of this Kingdom. We have in the Space of little more than a Month, taken the strong City and Castle of *Carlisle*, without the Loss of a Man; have raised Contributions, and proclaimed his M—— in the Counties of *Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster, Chester, Stafford* and *Derby*, for more than one hundred and fifty Miles of *English* Ground without Opposition, and are now got above half Way to the Capital of the *British* Dominions.

But after all, I must own my Opinion that we are yet come hither too late. We might have been this Day in Possession of *St. James's*, had not our Victory at *Glaidsmuir* been frustrated by our Delay to move directly forward into *England*; our Troops would not then have suffered so much by fatiguing Marches in bad Weather and bad Roads, by which the high Spirits which that easy Day had given them, evaporated. Besides. not a Man of the *English* Troops would then have dared to look us in the Face for two Months after, so intimidate I were they by C——e's Defeat, his Fears, and Representations of us: Neither were the perjured Troops of *Holland* then landed, nor above 200 of the *English* arrived from *Flanders*: Our Friends in *London* were in the highest Spirits, and our Enemies in the utmost Consternation: That the ——
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itself shook, was manifest from the uncommon Run upon the Bank, and the doubling all their Guards.

But this fatal Oversight, never to be retrieved, I shall forbear to aggravate : They who advised this delay had their Reasons for it. Yet when those very Reasons were grown stronger by Time, we passed the Northern Borders at the latter end of October, took the Western Road thro' *Lancashire*, as we were invited to do, that the large Reinforcements we were made to expect might join us ; but tho' we are even advanced thus far, how few are yet come in ? alas ! the Number is too inconsiderable to be mentioned.—Therefore, I come to the Point of our present Deliberation, whether it is more adviseable to march forward, and venture a Battle ; or secure a timely Retreat. I shall not scruple to give my Opinion for the Latter. By our last Muster it appears, that we have lost as many of our Countrymen by Desertion and Fatigues, as we have gained of *English* Recruits. And tho' we have been in *England* above a Month, not one Person of Consequence has joined us. The Troops of the Enemy, superior to us in Number, and under a warm, eager, and esteemed Commander, are now within half a Day's March of us, and can no longer be evaded if we proceed to the Southward : And if we receive one single Defeat here in
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the Heart of the Enemy's Country, we must infallibly be every Man of us undone, I would not hereby insinuate either that our Enemies are formidable for their Valour or Skill; our own Experience has shewn the Contrary: Or that our Followers wanted Courage or Conduct in the Field: For we have found them faithful, and our Enemies have found them invincible. And by Virtue of the Terror with which we have inspired the *English*, we may return back safely with our Spoils, lie Snug on the Northern Borders the Remainder of the Winter, and come fresh again with Victory on our Wings in the Summer, to finish the glorious Work we have begun, and that with more Ease and less Hazard than at present.



Character of William Boyde, Earl of Kilmarnock.

THIS very unfortunate Nobleman did not engage with the *Adventurers* out of Principle, but from a wild Prospect of bettering his Circumstances, which were very low in the World when *Ascanius* landed in the North. When he came to the Possession of his patrimonial Estate, he found it much encumbered, and a considerable Part of it mortgaged or sold; and his Lordship, instead of repairing it by Frugality and good OEconomy, reduced it still lower by his Profusion and Love of Pleasure, till at last he had little to support himself and his Family, besides a Pension from the Government.* But all being insufficient to support the Earl in the gay Manner in which he had been accustomed to live, and not knowing how to better his Fortune otherways, he desperately and thoughtlessly join'd the Standard of *Ascanius*, knowing that if the young *Adventurer's* Undertaking succeeded, his Fortune would be made: If it did not succeed, he could but be ruined with the other Chiefs of the Party: Which he thought would not be a much harder

* 500 Pounds a Year, as 'tis said.

Fate, than to be obliged to live as heretofore he had done.

However, this Lord was well received by *Ascanius*, tho' every Body guessed what his Motives for joining the *Adventurers* were. He was made Colonel of the Regiment of *Hussars*, and in other Respects treated with great Distinction. I must not omit to say one Thing in behalf of his Lordship's Prudence, viz. That he did not engage with the *Adventurers* till after the Defeat of *Cope*, an Event which contributed very much to strengthen the Party, by the Accession of many other new Associates.

Being taken Prisoner at the Battle of *Culloden*, he was sent up to *London*, where he was tried and condemned by his Peers, and executed with Lord *Balmerino*. While in the Tower he gave himself entirely up to Preparations for the other World, and bitterly repented of all the Irregularities of his Life, particularly that unhappy Step which brought him to so untimely an End.

His Lordship was a very genteel Man, and Master of all those Accomplishments requisite for compleating the Character of a fine Gentleman; and was, in short, reckoned one of the politest Men in the North. He left behind him a Lady and three Sons, one of whom is now with *Commodore Barnet* in the *East-Indies*.

IT now only remains that I say something of the celebrated Miss *M'Donald*, and Mrs. *Jenny Cameron*, who might, if I were disposed to amuse my Readers with groundless Fiction, and idle Romance, founded only on the airy Basis of popular Reports and common Fame, that common *Strumpet*, not to be trusted by any but the Superficial, the Unwary, and the grossly ignorant Part of Mankind. Too much already has the Publick been imposed on by lying Accounts of almost every Person of Note concerned or reported to be concerned in the late Rebellion. But the most flagrant Instance of the Impudence of our common Scribblers has been furnished by Mrs. *Cameron*, the innocent Occasion of more Lies and Nonsense than have been published concerning any other Person whose Name has of late been tack'd to our publick Reports and Pamphlets.

How it came to be rumoured abroad that *Ascanius* had any Mistress, or at least any particular Mistress, while in *Scotland*, it is perhaps impossible to discover; but those who saw most into his private Life know of none. Yet we are told that he had a Mistress, that her Name was *Jenny Cameron*, and that she marched with the *Highlanders* into *England*, and back with them

them into *Scotland*; all which is absolutely false and groundless. I am authorized to tell the Publick, that *Ascanius* never knew any Woman of that Name; nor does it yet appear that any one of his Followers knew any such Woman, except a Milliner in *Edinburgh* (and I think living in the *High-street*) who was for some time confined in *Edinburgh-Castle*, under the Notion of her being the Person so much talked of in *England*. This Milliner is the only Person who has ever been produced as the *Jenny Cameron*, Mistress to *Ascanius*, and the same common Fame which first procured the young *Adventurer* this Mistress, has recognized this very Milliner, and confidently asserted her being the identical Person so famous in News-paper-Tale. And yet she was never out of her Shop and Business during the whole Course of the Rebellion, except for a Day or two before she was made Prisoner. This Hundreds of People in *Edinburgh* can testify, besides her particular Acquaintance, with whom she has often made merry on Account of the Honour the World had done her, by introducing her to such an Intimacy with the young *Adventurer*.

While *Ascanius* was employed in the Siege of *Stirling*, Mrs. *Cameron* went from *Edinburgh* to the Army of the Besiegers,
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in which she had a Relation whom she was desirous of seeing, he being either dangerously sick or wounded, I forget which, though I was particularly informed of this Circumstance. On the very next Day after her Arrival at the Camp, the Duke of Cumberland arriving at *Edinburgh*, immediately marched the *English* Army to raise the Siege of *Stirling*. On his Approach, the Besiegers retired with Precipitation, and Mrs. *Cameron*, far from having any Desire to accompany the *Highlanders* in their Flight, thought only of returning to *Edinburgh* to her Shop and Business; but being stopped and interrogated by the Duke's People, her very Name, added to the Circumstance of her being found so near *Stirling*, was enough to make her a Prisoner; and without farther Ceremony she was committed to *Edinburgh* Castle, but was after a short Confinement, enlarged upon Bail. Nor has she any Reason to regret that ever such an Accident befall her, since it has given her a Fame she might never otherways have acquired, and may prove the Means of her making a good Fortune, so great is the Increase of her Business, all the City crowding to buy Ribbands, Gloves, Fans, &c. of the young *Adventurer's* Mistress; who might well, indeed, fall under the Displeasure of the
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the Government, when every Body knew her to be so zealously affected to its great Enemy, and to hold so close a Correspondence with him.—This celebrated Milliner is neither young nor handsome, but is a Woman of Wit and very good Sense; however, she has nothing in her remarkable, which makes it the more strange that the News-makers should pitch upon her for the Object of the young Adventurer's Affections, in Preference to all the other Ladies in Scotland.

As to Miss M'Donald, she really was as far concerned with *Ascanius* as is commonly reported, and as mentioned in Pages 196 197, &c. of this Work: But many Falsities have been published as to her Age, Person, Family, Fortune and other Circumstances, which are of no Manner of Consequence to the Publick, as she has been no otherways distinguished for her Knowledge of, Attachment to, or Correspondence with the unfortunate *Ascanius*, than what any other Lady (unprejudiced against him by that Bigotry which is too often found to be inseparable from Party-zeal,) would have been, or would have done for so extraordinary a Person, in such uncommon Distress. She is now a Prisoner in London, in the House of one of the King's Messengers; where she must remain till the Gentlemen

Gentlemen whose Office it is, shall be at
 leisure to take her Case into Consideration,
 upon which it is not doubted but she will
 be set at Liberty, if it be only on Account
 of her Sex :: The Government having hi-
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F I N I S



Wm. Pitt

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